00027706

955
Bro/Bro
27706

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from

NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach

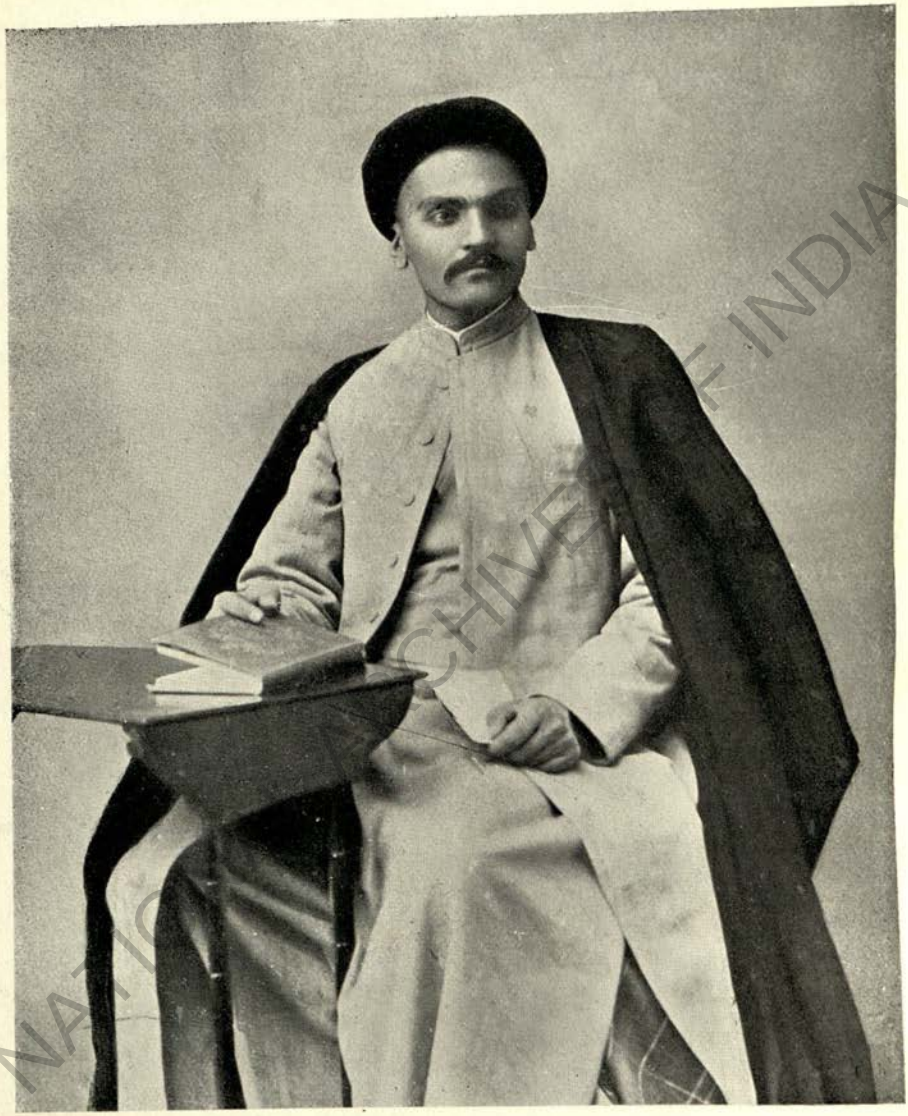
on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A BRIEF NARRATIVE
OF
RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



SAYYID ḤASAN IBN TAQÍ,
better known as "TAQÍ-ZÁDA,"
one of the Deputies for Tabríz
and Leaders of the Constitutional Party in Persia.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

FOLLOWED BY A TRANSLATION OF

"THE FOUR PILLARS OF THE PERSIAN CONSTITUTION"

(ارکان اربعهء مشروطیّت ایران)

NAMELY,

1. *The Royal Proclamation of August* 5, 1906.
2. *The Electoral Law of September* 9, 1906.
3. *The Fundamental Laws of December* 30, 1906.
4. *The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October* 7, 1907.

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., ETC.,

FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE AND SIR THOMAS ADAMS' PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

27706 ac

Copies of this publication can be obtained gratuitously by personal application to the Author, or they can be purchased at the price of one shilling each, eight shillings a dozen, or fifty shillings a hundred from LUZAC AND CO., 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

January, 1909

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

955
Bm/Bm
27706
Ref: 342.55

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

THE translation of the four documents which form the Appendix to this little book, and which I have described on the title-page as "*The Four Pillars of the Persian Constitution*" (ارکان اربعهٔ مشروطیّت ایران), has been somewhat hastily prepared for the information of those who desire to understand the present state of affairs in Persia. Doubtless it will need some revision before it is incorporated in the *History of the Persian Constitution* on which I am at present engaged, but the need of authentic documents bearing on this subject experienced by those who, like myself, are striving to arouse in this country interest in, and sympathy with, the Persian reformers (whose aims and achievements have been much misrepresented in certain sections of the British Press) is too urgent to permit of any unnecessary delay in publishing such materials as are available.

To render intelligible the bearing of these four documents on the situation in Persia, a brief historical sketch of the Constitutional Movement in that country is indispensable. I shall make it as short as possible, and shall especially endeavour to correct certain of the misrepresentations or misunderstandings to which allusion has been made.

It has been asserted by some writers that the Persian people were neither prepared for, nor desirous of, the Constitution which was conferred on them on August 5, 1906, by the late Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh; by others, that the very idea of Constitutional Government is contrary to the spirit of Islám;

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and by others again that Asiatic peoples, including the Persians, are incapable of governing themselves or of benefiting by representative institutions.

All these assertions I believe to be false. First Japan and now Turkey have by their actions given the lie to the third; the second is disproved alike by the Qur'án and by the history of the early Caliphs; while as for the first, the facts of the case are briefly as follows.

At least thirty years ago the ideas of a fixed and equitable Code of laws before which all Persian subjects should be equal, and of a more or less representative government, in which all Persian subjects should have a share, were actively promulgated in Persia by two very remarkable men of two quite distinct types, namely, the eminent Muslim divine and philosopher Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín (born about 1839, died 1897), and the equally eminent Persian diplomatist Prince Malkom Khán, who represented his country at the court of St James's from 1872 until 1889, and died in the summer of last year (July, 1908).

The first striking outward manifestation of the new spirit occurred, so far as I know, in 1891, on the occasion of the prolonged and finally successful popular protest against the Concession for a Monopoly of Persian Tobacco, granted to an English company in the spring of 1890. The main feature of this protest (the details of which are to be found in Dr Feuvrier's interesting work entitled *Trois Ans à la Cour de Perse*) was the part played by the *mullás*, or so-called "clergy," as the champions of the popular cause, and the mouth-pieces of the hitherto inarticulate indignation of the Persian people at the way in which the Sháh and his courtiers, to gratify their insatiable greed for money, were handing over all the sources of Persia's material wealth to foreign control, so that, as even Dr Feuvrier admits (*op. cit.*, p. 211) "de concession en concession, la Perse sera bientôt tout entière entre les mains des étrangers." The Persians are a very patient people, and will endure much oppression, provided their country cuts a creditable figure amongst the nations of the world; but to see it sold, bit by bit (for a miserably inadequate price, moreover) into the hands of foreigners—and they not even Muslims—was more

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

than they could endure. But it was the support and guidance of the *mullás* and *mujtahids*, the spiritual heads of the nation, which made organized and effective protest possible.

In many ways, besides the alliance brought about between the clerical and popular parties, the Tobacco Concession had important results. *First*, it cost Persia £500,000 to compensate the *concessionaires* and secure the withdrawal of the obnoxious monopoly, and this sum had to be borrowed from the Imperial Bank of Persia (a British institution) at 6 %, thus saddling Persia with a National Debt, involving a yearly unremunerative expenditure of £30,000. *Secondly*, British prestige suffered severely and Russian influence gained correspondingly, because this unpopular Concession was given to an English company, who were finally compelled to give it up, but exacted for this renunciation an exorbitant sum; while the Russians (not so much, it is true, out of love for Persia as out of dislike for England) had throughout worked against it. This is abundantly shown by the testimony of Dr Feuvrier[1], who describes how his friend the Amínu's-Sulṭán, then Prime Minister, hitherto regarded as an Anglophil, went on February 10, 1892 to the Russian Legation at Ṭihrán, abjured his Anglophil sentiments, and promised henceforth to be a faithful friend to Russia; a promise, it may be observed, which he certainly kept up to the day of his death (August 31, 1907), which, by a strange coincidence, was the day on which the Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed. *Thirdly*, the assassination of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh at Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím on May 1, 1896, was also indirectly due to the same ill-starred Concession, for opposing which the assassin, Mírzá Muḥammad Riẓá of Kirmán, had suffered the imprisonment and torments which impelled him to seek revenge in this way.

Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh succeeded his father Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh without disturbance in May, 1896, and died on January 4, 1907; after a reign of ten years and eight months, during which period Persia became steadily weaker, poorer, and more deeply involved in debt. Discontent was naturally ripe, and began to

[1] *Trois Ans à la Cour de Perse*, pp. 344–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

find more articulate expression; for, while the government grew steadily worse, the Sháh's mild and melancholic character, averse from bloodshed and violence, shrank from those measures of repression by which his father and predecessor had stifled for a while the voice of protest and the cry for reform. The new Sháh, however, made a good beginning by dismissing the Amínu's-Sulṭán (Nov., 1896) and appointing the more patriotic Amínu'd-Dawla his chief minister (Feb., 1897), while a year later he made the Náṣiru'l-Mulk (who was a member of Balliol College, Oxford, and is, I believe, the only Persian statesman who was educated at an English University) Minister of Finance. Unhappily his attempts at retrenchment and reform were rendered abortive by fresh demands for ready money on the part of the Sháh, who was strongly advised by his physicians to go to Europe to take the waters at Contrexéville or some similar place, and the Amínu'd-Dawla, having tried but failed to float a loan of £1,000,000 in London, was obliged to resign, and was shortly afterwards (July, 1898) replaced by his rival the Amínu's-Sulṭán, who was nominated *Ṣadr-i-A'ẓam*, or Grand Wazír, on August 10 of that year.

The new Prime Minister was a very remarkable, and in some ways a very able man, though it is doubtful whether any Persian statesman ever did so much injury to his country as he. A certain frank geniality and heartiness of manner concealed his astuteness, and inspired confidence in those who met him casually, and he undoubtedly exerted a wonderful influence over those with whom he was brought in contact. For his country's welfare he seems to have cared nothing at all, and during the five years (Aug. 1898—Sept. 1903) for which he now held office Persia advanced far on the road to ruin. Within a month or two of his advent to power certain Belgian custom-house officials were invited to draw up a scheme for the more remunerative administration of the excise, and in March, 1899, the custom-houses of Ázarbáyján and Kirmánsháh were handed over to their control, while a year later, in March, 1900, all the custom-houses were placed under their charge, and a large number of fresh Belgian officials was imported into Persia.

All this was preliminary to the first Russian loan of 22½

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

million roubles (£2,400,000), which was concluded on Jan. 20, 1900, and guaranteed by the custom-house receipts of the whole of Persia except Fárs and the Persian Gulf ports. This loan, repayable in 75 years, was at 5 % interest, and one of its conditions was that out of it the 6 % loan of £500,000, made by the (British) Imperial Bank of Persia in 1892 to provide the Persian Government with the sum demanded as compensation by the shareholders of the Tobacco Monopoly, should be paid off, so that henceforth Russia should be Persia's sole creditor. Of course none of this money was spent on any useful or productive work: most of it was at once appropriated by the Sháh and his greedy courtiers, and was immediately expended during the six months' trip to Europe on which the Sháh started in the spring of this year. Disorders broke out in his capital and elsewhere in his kingdom immediately after his departure, and serious bread-riots occurred in June, while the Sháh was disporting himself at Contrexéville, Paris and St Petersburg.

In the following year, 1901, Anglo-Russian rivalry was at its height, England being, however, handicapped by the South African War, which still dragged on its weary course. It was in April of this year that the pioneer steamer of the Russian Black Sea and Persian Gulf line (subsidized by the Russian Government) made her first voyage, visiting Bushire, Masqaṭ, Bandar-i-'Abbás, and Linga, and offering the most alluring terms to attract freight. About the same time the Sístán route from India was declared open, and was placed under the supervision of Captain Webbe-Ware. At the end of August there were fresh manifestations of discontent at Ṭihrán, accompanied by riots, on account of the growing unpopularity of the Prime Minister, who was charged with selling the country to foreigners, and the oppressive tariff fixed by the Belgian custom-house officials, which resulted in a considerable rise in price of necessary articles of food.

In the following year (1902) a second 4 % loan of about £1,000,000 was negotiated with Russia, and at the same time a concession was granted to that Power for the construction of a road from Julfá to Qazwín by way of Tabríz. The Sháh

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

again visited Europe, and this time included London (where he spent a week in August) in his tour. He was accompanied by the Amínu's-Sulṭán, now at the height of his power, and by his rival the Tabrízí Ḥakímu'l-Mulk, who was the Sháh's private physician, and a great favourite. He visited the King on the Royal yacht at Cowes, but was, apparently, greatly disappointed at not receiving the Order of the Garter, which he had expected and hoped for. He refused to accept the King's portrait, and his courtiers, following his lead, declined the decorations offered to them.

Early in the following year (1903), however, it was decided to gratify the Sháh's wish by conferring on him the coveted Order, which was sent to Persia by a special mission headed by Viscount Downe. On Feb. 9, the evening before Viscount Downe's departure from the Persian capital, a commercial agreement was signed between England and Persia, which was subsequently ratified on May 27. This was intended as a counter-blast to the Russo-Persian commercial agreement of Oct. 27, 1901, only announced on Feb. 2, 1903, which heavily penalized British imports, especially Indian tea. The new tariff continued to excite violent dissatisfaction, and at Tabríz a *mujtahid* was arrested for voicing the general discontent, while more or less serious riots occurred at Ṭihrán and Yazd. At the latter town and at Abarqúh violent persecutions of the Bábís also took place in June. These persecutions, chiefly instigated, apparently, by the *mujtahid* Áqá-yi-Najafí, are described with some detail by the Rev. Napier Malcolm in his interesting book *Five Years in a Persian Town*. Lord Curzon's tour in the Persian Gulf likewise took place in this year, in which also, in the autumn, the rivalry between the Amínu's-Sulṭán and the Ḥakímu'l-Mulk was terminated by the death of the latter, under suspicious circumstances, at Rasht. It is universally believed by the Persians that the unfortunate physician was poisoned by his rival, who, however, did not long profit by the event, since he was denounced as an infidel and miscreant by the *'ulamá* (or doctors of theology) of Najaf and Kerbelá, and was compelled to flee the country. He remained in exile, first in Russia, then travelling in China and other Asiatic lands, and finally in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Switzerland, until he was recalled to Persia in April, 1907, only to meet his death, as will be hereafter described, in August of the same year.

The Amínu's-Sulṭán was succeeded by the now notorious 'Aynu'd-Dawla, a member of the Royal House described as ignorant, arrogant and insolent, who soon became the object of an even greater hatred than his predecessor. Early in 1904 he was made *Ra'ísu'l-Wuzará*, or Premier, and Minister of the Interior, while the much-detested Belgian, M. Naus, was appointed Minister of Ports and Director-general of the Persian Customs. In this year the country was also devastated by cholera, and in Shíráz alone nearly ten per cent. of the population (5000 out of 55,000) are said to have perished in a short space of time. But more than by anything else, probably, Persia was affected, indirectly but strongly, by the Russo-Japanese War, which broke out early in the year. For the first time for several years Persia was comparatively free from Russian interference.

In the following year (1905) the Sháh again visited Europe, and paid a visit to St Petersburg, just about the time that peace was concluded between Russia and Japan after a war which had riveted the attention of all Asia and Muhammadan Africa in an unprecedented manner, and which was, perhaps, in one sense the most significant war between East and West (if Russia can be reckoned as forming part of the West) since the days of Marathon, Salamis and Thermopylae. Asia was filled with a new hope by the victory of the gallant little Japanese over a Power long regarded as one of the most formidable in Europe, and everywhere new aspirations began to stir.

So far as Persia was concerned, however, the event of the year took place at the end of it, in the month of December, when a number of merchants and *mullás*, goaded to desperation by the growing power and arrogance of M. Naus (who finally held no less than six ministerial appointments) and the misgovernment of the 'Aynu'd-Dawla, took "bast" (sanctuary) first in the Masjid-i-Sháh in Ṭihrán, and, when expelled thence, in the holy shrine of Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím, situated some four miles to the south of the metropolis. Besides the generally prevailing discontent

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

there were several subsidiary causes which contributed to this protest, such as the tyranny and misgovernment of the Sháh's son Shu'á'u's-Salṭana in Fárs, to the government of which province he had been appointed for the second time in September, 1904, after being driven out by an explosion of popular discontent two years previously; the misgovernment of Ásafu'd-Dawla in Mashhad, where he ordered his soldiers to fire on a crowd of people who, protesting against his tyranny, had taken refuge in the sacred precincts of the great mosque of the Imám Riẓá; the infliction of the bastinado by Ẓafaru's-Salṭana on the chief *mujtahid* of Kirmán, Ḥájji Mírzá Muḥammad Riẓá; the flogging of another *mullá* at Qazwín by the Wazír-i-Akram; and the bastinadoing of some two dozen leading merchants at Ṭihrán, on the pretext that they had unduly raised the price of sugar. By such deeds was the anger of both the *mullás* and the merchants aroused, while great indignation was also caused in religious circles by the appearance of a photograph of M. Naus, the most hated foreigner in Persia, dressed in the turban and robes of a *mullá*.

Into the details of this "First Bast" there is not space to enter, but it must be noted (1) that there now appeared on the scene for the first time men like Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh and Sayyid Muḥammad (afterwards so conspicuous amongst the clerical supporters of the Constitution) and Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín, the great orator of the popular party; and (2) that there was as yet no demand for a Constitution, but only for the dismissal of the 'Aynu'd-Dawla. And so, oddly enough, support was at this time given to the malcontents by several of those who were afterwards amongst the most determined foes of the Constitution, but who hated the 'Aynu'd-Dawla and were anxious to secure his downfall. Most conspicuous amongst these were the Amínu's-Sulṭán (who had expended some 30,000 *túmáns*—about £6000—towards this end), and the present Sháh, Muḥammad 'Alí, then *Walí-'ahd* or Crown Prince. Funds were therefore forthcoming for the maintenance of the "*bastís*," whose numbers, in spite of 'Aynu'd-Dawla's increasing endeavours to prevent it, continued steadily to increase, tradesmen as well as students joining their ranks. The Sháh's efforts to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

persuade them to return to the city were unavailing, and finally the Amír Bahádur, accompanied by 300 horsemen, went to Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím and endeavoured to bring back the refugees to Ṭihrán, but, after exchanging recriminations with them, he was obliged to return without accomplishing his object, and had to content himself with the endeavour to prevent fresh recruits from joining them. Finally, about February, 1906, when the "*bast*" had lasted nearly two months and the scandal and discomfort of this state of things was felt to be intolerable, the Sháh sent a *dast-khaṭṭ*, or autograph letter, to the refugees promising to dismiss the 'Aynu'd-Dawla and to grant the *'Adálat-khána*, or Court of Justice, which was now included in their demands.

The refugees thereupon returned to town with great pomp and circumstance, were graciously received by the Sháh, and patiently, but vainly, awaited the fulfilment of the Royal promises. No steps were taken to establish the *'Adálat-khána*, nor was the 'Aynu'd-Dawla dismissed: on the contrary, his rule became daily more intolerable, and he set himself still further to restrict the freedom of the people and to destroy their leaders. The streets were patrolled by Cossacks and other soldiers, spies and informers were everywhere, no one was allowed to go about the town from three hours after sunset until dawn, and the city was practically under martial law. Meanwhile two popular institutions which exercised a considerable influence on the further development of affairs came into being, viz. the *Anjuman-i-makhfí*, or "Secret Society," and the *Kitáb-khána-i-Millí*, or "National Library," both of a political character. One of the founders of the Library (which was essentially a free library for educating the people in political ideas) was Ḥájji Sayyid Naṣru'lláh, an upright and patriotic man, who was afterwards one of the Deputies for Ṭihrán. Amongst its supporters were also Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan Rushdiyya, afterwards editor of the *Nidá-yi-Waṭan* ("the Nation's Call"), Mírzá Áqá of Iṣfahán, afterwards one of the Deputies for Tabríz, but finally repudiated by his constituents on suspicion of corrupt practices, and Majdu'l-Islám of Kirmán, on whose integrity also doubt was cast. The three last named were exiled by the 'Aynu'd-Dawla to Kalát-i-Nádirí.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Towards the end of February, 1906, the month of Muḥarram began, and opportunity was afforded by the religious celebrations proper to that month for the Sayyids 'Abdu'lláh, Muḥammad, and Jamálu'd-Dín and other spiritual leaders of the people to renew their denunciations of the government. Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín, who exercised a marvellous influence over the common people, was compelled by 'Aynu'd-Dawla to leave the city and retire to Qum, but otherwise the preaching continued unchecked, until finally an attempt was made by 'Aynu'd-Dawla to arrest another preacher, Shaykh Muḥammad Wá'iẓ. An angry crowd protested against this and finally came into conflict with the soldiers, and in the course of the affray a certain Sayyid Ḥusayn was shot by an officer. This naturally served only to incense the crowd yet more: Shaykh Muḥammad was rescued from his captors, and the officer who had shot the Sayyid had to flee for his life. The body of the Sayyid was carried through the streets and bazaars while the onlookers wailed and beat their breasts, and a large number of the *'ulamá* (doctors of theology), *rawẓa-khwáns* (professional reciters of the tragic stories of the Imáms), students, merchants, tradesmen, artisans and humbler folk took refuge in the Masjid-i-Jámi', a mosque situated in the centre of the city. Further conflicts took place between the people and the soldiers, who endeavoured to stop the funeral procession of Sayyid Ḥusayn; several volleys were fired, and some fifteen of the people, including a Sayyid named 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd[1], were killed. Finally the streets were cleared by the soldiers, the people were dispersed, and the whole town was occupied by the troops. This happened on June 21, 1906, almost exactly two years before that bloodier and more cruel day of the *coup d'état.*

[1] The following verses were composed on the murder of Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd by the soldiers of the 'Aynu'd-Dawla, whose proper name was 'Abdu'l-Majíd:

باری دگر حسین شهید یزید شد ' عبد الحمید کشتهٔ عبد المجید شد '

بادا هزار مرتبه نزد خدا قبول ' قربانی جدید تو یا ایّها الرسول '

The murdered Sayyid was buried in the Masjid-i-Jámi', but after the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908, his body was, by command of the present Sháh, disinterred and burned.

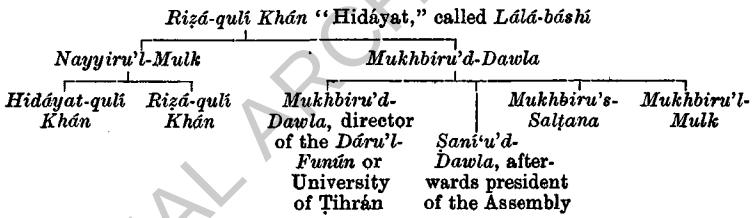
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Those who had sought sanctuary in the Masjid-i-Jámi' were besieged there for three or four days, when they sought and obtained permission to leave Ṭihrán and retire to Qum. Thither they were followed by such crowds that the road from Ṭihrán to Qum is said to have resembled the street of a town, and hence the Persians name this second exodus *Hijrat-i-Kubrá*, "the Great Flight." The bazaars were closed, but 'Aynu'd-Dawla ordered them to be opened, threatening, in case of non-compliance with his command, that the shops would be looted. Finally, a few representatives of the merchants and bankers of Ṭihrán went to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr Grant Duff, at Qulahak, and asked whether, if they took refuge in the British Legation in the town, they would be expelled or allowed to remain under its protection. Being told that they would be allowed to remain unmolested, a few proceeded thither and encamped in the Legation garden, where they were daily joined by others, first by tens and twenties, afterwards by hundreds, until finally some 15,000 or more were assembled there. The behaviour of this vast crowd is described by eye-witnesses as admirable: they grouped themselves by guilds (*aṣnáf*), each guild having its own tent, cooking arrangements and police. The tents were surmounted by inscriptions and verses of poetry, and the scene was one of great animation. The friendliest feeling was manifested towards the English, and such of the staff of the Legation as mingled with the refugees were eagerly consulted as to the nature and formation of a Parliament, the method of election of deputies, and the like. For now the people's demands did not stop short at the dismissal of 'Aynu'd-Dawla and the institution of a Court of Justice, but included the granting of a Constitution and a National Assembly, nor would they now accept less than this, until ultimately, on August 5, 1906 (= 14 Jumáda ii, A.H. 1324, which happened to be the Sháh's birthday), the Sháh, after many *pourparlers* and much haggling, gave way to the popular demands and promulgated the memorable *farmán*, which is the first of the four documents translated in this pamphlet. Thereupon most of the *bastís* left the Legation grounds, though some few remained for another two months (*i.e.* until the beginning of autumn), while the *'ulamá*, escorted

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk and Ḥájji Niẓámu'd-Dawla, returned from Qum to the capital, where they received a tremendous ovation.

The popular leaders did not allow the grass to grow under their feet, but immediately set to work to draft the Electoral Law (*Niẓám-náma-i-Intikhábát*), which is the second of the four documents here translated. For this purpose a Committee was appointed, which completed its labours in 36 days, and the result of their labours, concluded on Sept. 8, 1906, was duly ratified by the Sháh on the following day. Two of the most prominent members of this Committee were the son of the old Mushíru'd-Dawla, then entitled Mushíru'l-Mulk, but afterwards known by his father's title, and the Mukhbiru's-Salṭana, a grandson of that eminent man of letters, the late Riẓá-qulí Khán, poetically called *Hidáyat*, and commonly known as *Lálá-báshí*. The latter belonged to a large and influential family (comprising some forty living members), all of whom were well educated, and several of whom had studied in Europe. The following genealogical tree shows the more important members of the family.



This family played a great *rôle* in the Constitutional movement, especially the three brothers Ṣani'u'd-Dawla, Mukhbiru's-Salṭana and Mukhbiru'l-Mulk, who lived together in a large house and had always refused to take office during the days of tyranny. Now, however, they were prominent in the new movement, and, as stated above, helped to draft the new Electoral Law, of which, so soon as it was ratified, some 50,000 copies were printed and distributed throughout the country.

Certain features of the Electoral Law, such as the very large proportion of representatives (60 out of 156) accorded to the capital, were certainly not intended to be permanent, but it was felt, with justice, that no time must be lost in getting the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

National Assembly to work, lest the Sháh should change his mind and revoke his rescript. This consideration also explains Article 19 of the Electoral Law, whereby it was enacted that the Assembly should begin its work as soon as the elections were concluded in the metropolis, without waiting for the arrival of the provincial deputies. This provision was a very necessary one, for little news had yet reached the provinces of what was happening in the capital, and in several cases where attempts were made to hold provincial elections the local governor interfered, even violently, to stop it. As it was, the Assembly actually met and began its deliberations on October 7, 1906. One of its earliest important actions was to refuse to sanction a new loan of £400,000, to be provided in equal moieties by Russia and England on terms not made public, which was on the point of being concluded by the Sháh and his advisers. Thus, even from the first, it showed that it would not become the docile instrument of the Court, but was capable of acting with independence and patriotism.

Meanwhile Tabríz, where the constitutional movement was strong, was in an uproar, owing to the tyranny of the *Walí-'ahd* or Crown Prince (the present Sháh), who allowed nothing to transpire as to the progress of events at the capital, and who, with the aid of his Russian tutor, the notorious Shapshál Khán, and his ill-conditioned aide-de-camp, 'Alí Beg, had organized a system of espionage comparable to that which prevailed in Turkey under the old régime. Finally, on Rajab 29 (Sept. 18, 1906), the disturbance culminated in a number of the citizens taking refuge in the precincts of the British Consulate, while the shops were closed, the tyranny of the *Walí-'ahd* was denounced, and energetic demands were made for freedom and constitutional government. On Sha'bán 8 (= Sept. 27, 1906) a telegram arrived at the Consulate from Mr Grant Duff, the British Chargé d'Affaires, announcing that the Sháh had granted a Constitution, whereupon the refugees left the Consulate and formed an association known as the *Anjuman-i-Nuẓẓár*, or "Society of Overseers," to superintend the elections, which began forthwith and lasted until Ramaẓán 15 (= Nov. 2, 1906). Amongst the Deputies elected was the young Sayyid Ḥasan, the son of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Taqí, commonly known as Taqí-záda, who, despairing of Tabríz, had already started for Ṭihrán on Sept. 3, and who was destined to play a very leading as well as a very noble part in subsequent events.

During the latter part of October and the beginning of November, 1906, two other disturbances occurred in Tabríz, the first directed against a very mischievous and scheming Sayyid named Mír Háshim, who was finally expelled from the city, together with the Imám Jum'a, a reactionary and tyrannical ecclesiastic. The second disturbance, which took place about November 5, was caused by the Walí-'ahd's attempt to dissolve the *Anjuman-i-Nuẓẓár* as soon as the elections were over; an attempt which was strenuously and successfully resisted by the popular party. Disturbances also occurred early in October at Rasht, Shíráz, Iṣfahán and Zanján, where the British Consulates, or, in the case of the town last-named, the telegraph office, served as places of refuge for the oppressed. The popularity of Great Britain amongst the Persian people was, indeed, now at its zenith, and to her representatives they instinctively turned for help, protection and counsel.

The provincial deputies, as already stated, came in slowly, the first to take his seat being the Wakílu'r-Ri'áyá from Hamadán, and the second Sayyid Taqí-záda, who was elected shortly after his arrival in Ṭihrán, his *I'tibár-náma*, or Certificate of Election, being sent after him to the capital. The Assembly sat for the first three weeks of its existence in the building named *'Imárat-i-Khurshíd*, but afterwards moved to the *Bahár-istán*, which, together with the adjacent Mosque, was originally built by Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán *Mushíru'd-Dawla* in A.H. 1287 (A.D. 1870), but was appropriated by Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh on the death of that statesman. The return of political exiles, such as Sa'du'd-Dawla from Yazd, and Mírzá Áqá of Iṣfahán, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan-i-Rushdiyya and Majdu'l-Islám from Kalát-i-Nádirí, was demanded and conceded, and Sa'du'd-Dawla, who had been elected in his absence, entered Ṭihrán in triumph and took his seat shortly afterwards. Hitherto the Assembly had acted with calmness, but he inaugurated extremist views and utterances, and created an organized Opposition.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The matters which chiefly occupied the attention of the Assembly at this period were the question of the Fundamental Law (*Qánún-i-Asásí*) and the question of creating a National Bank. The Fundamental Law was ready for the Sháh's approval before the end of October, but he desired sundry trivial alterations in it, and owing to the delays to which this gave rise it was not finally ratified until December 30, 1906, only five days before his death. It was also signed by the Crown Prince, Muḥammad 'Alí Mírzá (the present Sháh), who had arrived in the capital from Tabríz two or three weeks previously. It is the third of the four documents of which translations are annexed.

The question of the National Bank progressed less favourably, though gallant efforts were made to raise the required capital by subscription. A hundred persons subscribed 5000 *túmáns* (about £1000) each, while some gave yet larger sums, up to 30,000 *túmáns*. The poor also contributed: students sold their books and women their ornaments to support the Bank: a million *túmáns* was subscribed in Ṭihrán alone, while Tabríz promised another million from itself and the province of Ázarbáyján. But the Sháh made his agreement conditional on an immediate loan of two million *túmáns*, while other difficulties were thrown in the way by the existing English and Russian Banks, which, as far as possible, strove to render money scarce and difficult to obtain, believing, it is asserted, that if a National Bank with a capital of six million *túmáns* should be created in Persia they would sooner or later find their business gone and be compelled to retire in its favour.

Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh died, as has been already noted, on Jan. 4, 1907, and on Jan. 19 his son Muḥammad 'Alí Sháh was crowned. From the first he showed his contempt for, and dislike of, the National Assembly by sending no invitations to them to be present at his coronation. Great irritation was caused by this neglect, and it was increased by the refusal of the Ministers to attend the sittings of the Assembly or answer questions. Certain provincial governors, perceiving how the land lay, followed suit, and opposed the elections by all means at their disposal. At Tanakábun, for instance, the governor

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

bastinadoed a *mullá* for trying to carry out the election. 'On Feb. 7 the Deputies from Tabríz (seven in number) arrived in the capital, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm. About the same time, or a little earlier, the Assembly, driven to desperation by the slights put upon them, addressed to the Sháh what was practically an ultimatum, in which they demanded (1) a Supplement to the original Fundamental Law containing certain necessary additions; (2) an explicit declaration on the part of the Sháh that Persia "enjoyed a Constitution, and had entered the number of Constitutional States"; (3) the dismissal of M. Naus; and (4) a formal recognition of the principle that no foreign subject could hold the position of a Persian Minister. The Assembly demanded a reply to their demands within five days, and though the Sháh at first resisted, he finally gave way (though not before fresh disturbances had been provoked at Tabríz by his obstinacy) on all these points, and the Ministers duly attended at the Baháristán, and were introduced to the Assembly. M. Naus was dismissed on Feb. 10, and a little later a Commission was appointed to draw up the Supplementary Laws, of which the translation forms the fourth and last of the appended documents. This Commission, which worked hard at its task for two months, included Sa'du'd-Dawla, Ḥájji Amínu'ẓ-Ẓarb, Ḥájji Sayyid Naṣru'lláh, and two of the Tabríz Deputies, Taqí-záda and the Mustasháru'd-Dawla, but, though they finished their work in April or May, the Sháh's ratification was not given until five or six months later (Oct. 7, 1907).

About this time (Muḥarram, A.H. 1325 = Feb.—March, 1907) the first reactionary demonstration took place. It was started by Akbar Sháh, the *rawẓa-khwán*, Áqá Sayyid Muḥammad, Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dín Zanjání, and some half dozen other reactionary *mullás* of an inferior class. A riot ensued, and the reactionaries retired from the city to Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím, where they formed a reactionary society, or *anjuman*, which was recruited by a certain number of *mullás* and students. The Sháh is asserted to have supported them with money and food, but, in spite of the Royal favour, the movement languished, and for the time being produced no material results. The Assembly, on the other hand, gained enormously in prestige and power by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

its success in removing M. Naus, "one of the chief roots of tyranny"; and, having organized a proper Cabinet under Mírzá Naṣru'lláh Khán *Mushíru'd-Dawla*, they proceeded to remove from power other tyrannical and reactionary governors, such as Áṣafu'd-Dawla from Khurásán, Naṣru's-Salṭana from Tanakábun, Ḥájji Khumámí (a *mullá* of great wealth and power) from Rasht, and last but not least the Sháh's uncle, the crafty and cruel old Ẓillu's-Sulṭán, from Iṣfahán. This last dismissal was, indeed, necessitated by the violent protests of the Iṣfahánís, of whom some three thousand took refuge in the British Consulate, while others who were resident at the capital appealed directly to the Majlis to free them from their tyrant, and further formed an *anjuman*, or Society, of their own to watch over and promote the interests of their native town. Other similar clubs or *anjumans*—such as the *anjumans* of Shíráz and Gílán—came into existence at this time, and these also became a powerful factor on the popular side.

Here a few words must be said about the *anjumans* generally. They have been often described in the European Press as "revolutionary clubs," which description is true only of a small number. Any society or club is an *anjuman*, but the *anjumans* of this period fall into two quite distinct groups. First there were the official *anjumans* established by law, which were of three kinds, the provincial (*ayálatí*), departmental (*wiláyatí*), and municipal (*baladí*), which were comparable to county, urban and town councils, and had well-defined duties and responsibilities. Secondly there were numbers of unofficial *anjumans*, which were simply clubs, social, local and political. Their objects were philanthropic as well as political: they provided night-schools for the free education of the common people, and, in many cases, medical treatment for the sick, and they also organized lectures on the duties of citizenship and debates on subjects of practical interest. They were thus one of the most powerful factors in the enlightenment and regeneration of the people which were now proceeding apace.

On March 17 it was decided to abolish the post of Prime Minister, or Sadr-i-A'ẓam, and Mírzá Naṣru'lláh Khán *Mushíru'd-Dawla*, who had held this office since the granting

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Constitution, resigned. The new Cabinet, under the presidency of Sulṭán 'Alí Khán *Wazír-i-Afkham*, included the Farmán-farmá (Minister of Justice), the 'Alá'u's-Salṭana (Minister of Foreign Affairs), the Ná'ibu's-Salṭana (Minister of War), the Násiru'l-Mulk (Minister of Finance), and the Muhandisu'l-Mamálik (Minister of Public Works). Amongst the members of this Cabinet all the Ministries (which had hitherto been distributed amongst some 58 office-holders) were divided, so that a Cabinet Minister was now responsible for each department of the State, and co-ordination succeeded the former chaos.

About a fortnight later, towards the end of March, 1907, a consignment of arms, including some 10,000 Russian repeating rifles with their ammunition, which the Sháh was endeavouring to bring from Tabríz to Tihrán, was seized by the people at a distance of about two miles from the former town. This action seems to have been prompted by the resentment caused by an attempt to assassinate the President of the *Anjuman-i-Ayálatí*, or Departmental Council, of Ázarbáyján (a certain Ḥájji Mahdí) instigated by the Sháh's *farrásh-báshi* and believed to have originated from the Sháh himself.

At this period (February 14—April 14, 1907) the chief questions before the National Assembly were as follows: (1) a new survey and reassessment of the land; (2) the projected National Bank; (3) the regulations for the conduct of the Municipal Councils (*Qánún-i-Baladiyya*), which Councils actually came into being about December, 1907; (4) the regulations for the Departmental and Provincial Councils; (5) the Press Law; (6) the Law regulating the powers and functions of governors (*Qánún-i-Ḥukkám*). The chief events of this period were the revolts against the tyranny of local governors, who refused to recognize the new order of things, in Fárs, 'Iráq and Iṣfahán; and the telegram of congratulation sent by the National Assembly in March to the new Duma.

On April 19, 1907, the Amínu's-Sulṭán, in response to an invitation from the Sháh, returned from his exile, of which the occasion has been already mentioned in speaking of the year 1903, and landed at Rasht, the inhabitants of which town wished

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to prevent him proceeding to the capital, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the marked honours paid to him by the Russian Government during his journey through their territory. Finally, however, in consequence of the desire of the National Assembly to avoid any act which might appear arbitrary, he was allowed to proceed to Ṭihrán, where he was shortly made President of the Council of Ministers.

Towards the end of May, 1907, a fresh quarrel arose between the Sháh and his people. It was reported to be the Sháh's intention to send Raḥím Khán at the head of 10,000 of his tribal horsemen to Tabríz to suppress the Constitution in that liberty-loving city, and his son was already advancing from Qáraja-Dágh, looting and killing as he came. The number of persons whom he killed did not exceed 50, but the indignation aroused at Ṭihrán was very great, and the National Assembly urgently demanded from the Sháh the arrest and trial of Raḥím Khán. The Sháh at first resisted, but finally had to give way and surrender him to the *'Adliyya*, or High Court of Justice, which, after due trial, imprisoned him for some seven or eight months, while his son was also captured and brought as a prisoner to Tabríz.

In June, 1907, fresh disturbances occurred at Kirmánsháh, Tabríz, Mákú and Khúy, while the disorders in Fárs still continued. More important than these was the rebellion of the Sháh's younger brother, the Sáláru'd-Dawla, in the West. He was, however, defeated in battle at Niháwand (Nehavend), on that classic field where the power of the Sásánian Empire was finally broken by the Arabs, and the religion of Zoroaster overthrown by that of Muhammad, nearly 1300 years ago, and surrendered to the Ẓahíru'd-Dawla on June 22. He was conveyed to Ṭihrán and then kept under surveillance, but not otherwise punished.

In July, 1907, the first anniversary of the Constitution (called *Jashn-i-Millí*, "the National Festival") was celebrated (on the 25th) with great splendour. All who witnessed it describe the festival as worthy of the occasion, and the behaviour of the vast crowd (estimated at 100,000 persons) as admirable. There were speeches, processions, banquetings, and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the evening fireworks and illuminations. The Sháh himself did not take part in the proceedings, and an attempt (happily abortive) was made by Muqtadir Niẓám, the Superintendent of the Arsenal, and some of his myrmidons to create a panic, but otherwise the festival was marred by no untoward event.

The month of August, 1907, was marked by several untoward events, notably Russian threats, Turkish aggressions, and a fresh reactionary propaganda headed by Shaykh Faẓlu'lláh. The Russian threat was embodied in a note drawn up by M. Pashkoff, first secretary of the Russian Legation, and addressed to the President of the Assembly to the effect that if the present disorders continued, Russia would be compelled to take "certain active measures to assure security...not with any sinister intention, but to appease strife." This note provoked a remonstrance which led to its being presented in a modified form two or three weeks later, but even then it was not read, as the objectionable expression "active measures" still occurred in it. A copy of it was obtained by the German Legation and was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, whence it was copied by certain Russian papers, such as the *Novoe Vremya* and the *Slovo*, which expressed disapproval of such high-handed action on the part of M. Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Ṭihrán.

As regards the Turks, who had long been menacing the ill-defined N.W. frontier of Persia, their advance now became rapid and alarming: they occupied successively Margawar (Aug. 3); Mawána, where they defeated a Persian punitive expedition sent against the Kurds to avenge the murder of an American missionary named Lydbury, and killed some 60 or 70 persons (Aug. 6); Barádúst (Aug. 15); and three months later Ushnúya, threatening Urúmiyya itself. The Farmán-farmá was appointed governor of Ázarbáyján and ordered to attack them, but could effect nothing.

Shaykh Faẓlu'lláh's reactionary propaganda began in July, when, having been accused before the National Assembly of corrupt practices, and in particular of intriguing first to displace and then to restore Ḥishmatu'l-Mulk as governor of Qá'in, he left Ṭihrán in anger for Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím, where he gathered round him other reactionaries (for he had many admirers and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

disciples) and began to denounce the Constitution and work against the Assembly. Failing to effect much, however, he ultimately made his peace with the Assembly and returned to Ṭihrán early in October.

The most momentous day of the month, however, was the last (Aug. 31, 1907), on which happened two fateful events, namely, the assassination of the Amínu's-Sulṭán and the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. These two events had, of course, no direct connection, but the coincidence of the recognition by England of Russia's paramount influence in north Persia with the violent death of the minister who had done so much to promote that influence was a strange one. On his return to political life in May he had quickly recognized the fact that, in the present temper of the people, it would be impossible to negotiate a fresh foreign loan unless he could win over a majority of the Deputies to his side, and this he set himself to do. He was a persuasive and experienced "lobbyer," and, by dint of four months' hard work, he at last seemed to be on the verge of success. But in the very moment of his triumph, as he was leaving the Assembly with the clerical leader Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Ṭabáṭabá'í, he was shot by a young money-changer named 'Abbás Áqá of Tabríz, who afterwards shot himself. He was carried to his house, where he shortly afterwards expired. On the body of his assailant were found, besides the revolver, a ticket bearing his name and the number (41) assigned to him in the club of "National Fidá'ís," of which he was a member, and also a small phial of poison, which, no doubt, he intended to use if he should be arrested and disarmed. The deed was done with the utmost deliberation and premeditation. 'Abbás Áqá arranged all his affairs some days previously, and, having had his photograph taken, said to the photographer, "Take good care of this, for there will be a great demand for it in a few days." He was accompanied by his brother, Ḥasan Áqá, who succeeded in effecting his escape at the time, but afterwards committed suicide at Tabríz. So great was the dislike and mistrust of the Amínu's-Sulṭán which prevailed that, especially when the contents of the Anglo-Russian Agreement became known, 'Abbás Áqá was regarded as a national hero, who had sacrificed his life

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to rid the country of one of her most dangerous enemies, and on the *chihla*, or fortieth day after his death, his grave was the scene of an extraordinary popular demonstration, where speeches were made and poems recited in his honour. After the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908, the Sháh caused his body to be exhumed and burned and his grave to be obliterated.

Of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, signed at St Petersburg on the same day as that on which the Amínu's-Sulṭán met his death, it is impossible to speak fully in this place, but it is worth noticing that it was not formally communicated to the Persian Government (although its provisions became known through the Press) until Sept. 25, more than three weeks after its conclusion. So far as Persia was concerned, the most ominous feature of the Agreement was the division of the kingdom into three zones or regions, a large sphere of Russian influence in the north, a small British sphere in the south-east, and a neutral sphere in the middle. The line limiting the Russian sphere to the south began on the west at Qaṣr-i-Shírín, ran south-east to Iṣfahán and Yazd, including both those important towns and also Hamadán and Kirmánsháh, and then turned north-east by Tún in Khurásán to Zu'l-Fiqár, near the Russo-Afghan frontier. The British sphere in the south-east was bounded by a line starting from Bandar-i-'Abbás, running north to and including Kirmán, and thence north-east to Birjand, whence it ran nearly due east to the frontier. The remainder of Persia was described as a "neutral sphere."

When this Agreement became known it was generally regarded, both in this country and in Persia, as tantamount to a partition of Persia between her two powerful neighbours, whose ancient rivalry was thus to end in a division of the spoil, in which England manifestly got the worst of a very iniquitous bargain. The general feeling in this country was well expressed by a cartoon in *Punch*, in which the English lion and the Russian bear were represented as mauling an unfortunate Persian cat, the one saying to the other, "You play with its head and I'll play with its tail, and we'll both stroke the small of its back," while the poor cat murmurs, "I don't remember that *I* was ever

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

consulted about this arrangement." And indeed it seemed a grave slight to Persia that, while the Amír of Afghánistán was consulted about the Agreement (which touched his country much less nearly), she was not only not consulted about it beforehand, but not officially informed of its provisions for more than three weeks after it had been concluded. Its general contents, however, became known to the Persians through their Press very much sooner, and caused great and general indignation. The *Ḥablu'l-Matín* in particular, the most important daily paper published in Ṭihrán, wrote a series of very strong and effective articles against it, and England, which, since the protection extended to the refugees by her Legation in July and August of the preceding year, had been regarded by the Constitutionalists as their best friend and protector, suddenly fell from that lofty height of popularity to a position but little higher than that occupied in the national esteem by Russia. "Foes," says the Persian proverb, "are of three kinds: our foes, the friends of our foes, and the foes of our friends." And England had now become the friend of the foe.

To appease the popular feeling and quiet these very natural apprehensions, a communication of the utmost importance as to the meaning of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made on or about Sept. 5 by the British Legation (with the knowledge and cooperation of the Russian Legation) to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was subsequently published in the *Ḥablu'l-Matín*. This communication, which declares in the most definite and formal manner that the Agreement was intended not to bring about but to prevent intervention on the part of either England or Russia, is of supreme importance, since, as explained by it, the Anglo-Russian Agreement should be, not the death-warrant of Persia's independence, but the charter of her salvation. As it constitutes the key-stone of the whole actual position, no apology is needed for inserting it in full in this place. It runs as follows:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

OFFICIALLY EXPLAINED AS AN AGREEMENT OF NON-INTERVENTION IN PERSIAN AFFAIRS.

Translation of the official communication concerning the nature and objects of the Anglo-Russian Agreement transmitted from the British representative at Tehrán to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs on or about September 5, 1907, *and subsequently published on September* 14 *of the same year in No.* 115 *of the Persian daily newspaper Ḥablu'l-Matín* (حبل المتين), *pp.* 2–3.

"Information has reached me that the report is rife in Persia that the result of the Agreement concluded between England and Russia will be the intervention of these two Powers in Persia, and the partition of Persia between them. Your Excellency is aware that the negotiations between England and Russia are of a wholly different character, since the Mushíru'l-Mulk recently visited both St Petersburg and London, and discussed the matter with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of both Powers, who explicitly declared to him the objects aimed at by their respective Governments in Persia, which assurances he has no doubt duly reported.

"Sir Edward Grey has informed me of the substance of his conversations with the Mushíru'l-Mulk, and also of the substance of M. Isvolsky's declarations, officially communicated to the British Government.

"Sir Edward Grey informs me that he has explained to the Mushíru'l-Mulk that he and M. Isvolsky are completely in accord on two fundamental points.

"Firstly, neither of the two Powers will interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury is inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects.

"Secondly, negotiations arising out of the Anglo-Russian Agreement must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"Sir Edward Grey also observes that hitherto antagonism has existed between England and Russia, each of whom has endeavoured to prevent the continuance of the other in Persia, and had this antagonism been prolonged in the present uncertain state of Persia, one or both of these two Powers might have been tempted to interfere in the internal affairs of Persia, so as not to allow the other to profit by the existing state of things, or to profit by it to the detriment of others. The object of the present negotiations between England and Russia is to prevent such difficulties from arising between them, and these negotiations are in truth in no wise directed against Persia, as M. Isvolsky has clearly explained to the Mushíru'l-Mulk, saying, 'Neither of the two Powers seeks anything from Persia, so that Persia can concentrate all her energies on the settlement of her internal affairs.' Both Ministers are entirely in accord as to the policy of non-intervention in Persia, and have left no possible ground for doubt in the matter. M. Isvolsky's words, which include the intentions of England, are as follows:—'Russia's general principle will be to refrain from any kind of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries so long as nothing injurious to her interests is done; and it is quite impossible that she should deviate from this principle in this present case.'

"As to the reported partition of Persia between Russia and England, concerning which it is asserted that the two Powers above mentioned wish to define spheres of influence for themselves, Sir Edward Grey and M. Isvolsky have explicitly declared that these reports have no foundation. What the two Powers desire is to come to an agreement which will prevent future difficulties and disputes from arising, by guaranteeing that neither Power will aim at acquiring influence in those parts of Persia which are adjacent to the frontier of the other. This Agreement is injurious neither to the interests of Persia nor to those of any other foreign nation, since it binds only England and Russia not to embark on any course of action in Persia calculated to injure the interests of the other, and so in the future to deliver Persia from those demands which in the past have proved so injurious to the progress of her political aspirations. This is what M. Isvolsky says:—

"'This Agreement between the two European Powers which

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms.'

"From the above statements you will see how baseless and unfounded are these rumours which have lately prevailed in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in this country. The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was *not to allow one another to intervene* on the pretext of safeguarding their interests. The two Powers hope that in the future Persia will be for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and will thus be perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way, whereby advantage will accrue both to herself and to the whole world."

Nothing, it would seem, could be more satisfactory than this, and, though the East is beginning to learn by bitter experience to mistrust certain specious but sinister terms of European diplomacy regarding "non-intervention," "spheres of influence," "pacific penetration," and the like, it undoubtedly did something to reassure the Persian people, who, however, have (not without reason) never recovered that confidence in England which inspired them before the days of the Anglo-Russian Agreement.

In September, 1907, the Iḥtishámu's-Salṭana, formerly Persian Minister at Berlin, was elected President of the National Assembly in place of Ṣaní'u'd-Dawla, who had resigned a few days previously, and a new Cabinet was formed, under the presidency of the Mushíru's-Salṭana. Sa'du'd-Dawla was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, but was compelled by a general strike of his subordinates to resign this post on October 2. Mírzá Naṣru'lláh Khán, the Mushíru'd-Dawla, died suddenly about the middle of September, and there were suspicions that he had been poisoned, but of this there seems no very clear proof. In the same month there were disturbances at Kirmán, caused by the tyranny of the young governor Nuṣratu'd-Dawla,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

son of the Farmán-farmá, who caused his soldiers to fire a volley on the people, in which a dozen or more were killed. The Princes and nobles presented an address in favour of the Assembly to the Sháh on Sept. 27, and four days later took an oath of allegiance to it.

On Oct. 4, to the great regret of all friends of Persia, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice[1], of all recent representatives of Great Britain in that country the one who best understood and most sympathized with its people, was compelled on account of ill-health to leave Ṭihrán for Europe, and, pending the arrival of the new Minister, his place was taken by Mr Marling as Chargé d'Affaires. About the same time M. Bizot was appointed by the French at the request of the Persian Government as Financial Adviser, in which position, in spite of many obstacles, he seems to have done his best for the country. Almost simultaneously was opened in Ṭihrán a German College, half the costs of erecting which were given by the Emperor of Germany, and the other half by the Persian Government. The annual expenses of its maintenance were estimated at 12,000 *túmáns*, and the number of its students was about 700.

The ratification by the Sháh on Oct. 7 of the Supplementary Laws added to the original Fundamental Laws of Dec. 30, 1906, has been already mentioned on p. 20 *supra*. On Oct. 28 a new Cabinet was constituted under the presidency of the enlightened Náṣiru'l-Mulk, with the Mushíru'd-Dawla (son of the late Mírzá Naṣru'lláh Khán, who bore the same title) as Foreign Minister, and including the Ṣaní'u'd-Dawla and Áṣafu'l-Mulk.

Early in November the first Budget—one of the most notable achievements of the Assembly—was completed and issued. It had cost six months' hard work to the Committee on Finance, which consisted of twelve members (five from Ázarbáyján, two each from Ṭihrán and Fárs, and one each from Hamadán, Kirmán and Khurásán), and included Sayyid Taqí-záda, the Mustasháru'd-Dawla, Ḥájji Mírzá Áqá Ḥusayn-Záda, Ḥájji Mírzá Ibráhím, the Wuthúqu'd-Dawla, Sharafu'd-Dawla, Ḥusámu'l-Islám, Adíb-i-Khalwat (Mírzá 'Alí Khán, a man of

[1] He arrived in Persia as Minister (having previously acted as first secretary to the Legation) on Sept. 30, 1906.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

about 35 years of age, possessing the most astonishing knowledge of Persian literature), and the Mu'tamanu'l-Mamálik, an old man, deeply versed in the mysteries of the cryptic records of State expenditure kept by the Mustawfís, or State Accountants. This Commission, for a period of six or seven months, worked daily at its arduous task from dawn until three hours after sunset, and its members did not leave the building where they sat even for luncheon. From the first they saw clearly that Persia's supreme need was a yearly surplus, however small, instead of an annual deficit of £570,000 which was weighing her down and sinking her more and more deeply in debt, for without this surplus she could hope neither to free herself from foreign (especially Russian) interference, nor to develop her natural wealth without invoking the perilous intervention of foreign *concessionaires*, nor to put herself in a position of defence. To increase the revenue would have necessitated a fresh survey and assessment of the land, which would have required both time, money and European aid, and, if disturbances and discontent were to be avoided, it would have been necessary to effect it with the utmost circumspection and prudence. Hence the Náṣiru'l-Mulk, the most experienced financier in Persia, strongly advised the Committee to confine their exertions in their first Budget to effecting such economies in the expenditure as would leave them a surplus.

For such economies there was ample room. The late Sháh, Muẓaffaru'd-Dín, had been remarkable, even amongst Asiatic monarchs, for his reckless prodigality. Permanent pensions and extravagant allowances and gifts were granted by him, in spite of all protests, often for the most trivial reasons, while the allowances of some of the Princes (notably the Ẓillu's-Sulṭán and the Shu'á'u's-Salṭana, of whom the former, the uncle of the present Sháh, had 75,000 *túmáns*, or about £15,000 a year, and the latter, the Sháh's cousin, 115,000 *túmáns*, or about £23,000) were an intolerable burden on the impoverished country. The Committee proposed, and the National Assembly agreed, that they should all be reduced to a uniform allowance (exclusive of their private income, which in many cases was very large) of 12,000 *túmáns* (about £2400) a year. And yet there

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

are still found writers in this country to maintain the absurd theory that the Assembly was but the instrument of the Ẓillu's-Sulṭán's ambition!

The Committee next proceeded to deal with other pensions, and to remove as far as possible the abuses connected with those evil institutions known as *tuyúlát*, *tas'írát* and *tafáwut-i-'amal*. By *tuyúlát* is meant the granting, in lieu of a pension payable by the Treasury, of the right to collect the revenues of a given village or district, from which flowed two evil results, the handing over of the inhabitants to the tender mercies of a new lord, whose only interest was to extract from them as much money as possible, and a great, though disguised, loss of legitimate revenue to the Treasury. All these *tuyúlát*, recorded in some forty *kitábchas* or registers, each of which corresponded with a definite district, were considered in detail: pensions, except in the case of small pensions given to poor people, were reduced or abolished, and the reduced amounts were made chargeable directly on the Treasury, thus bringing the land once more under the direct control of the State.

Another abuse, that known as *tas'írát*, arose from the commutation of various payments intended to be made in kind for quite inadequate equivalents in cash. An important result of this reform was to render much more difficult that process of creating a "corner" in corn and other necessities of life, known as *anbár-dárí* or *iḥtikár*, and to increase the abundance of available food-stuffs.

The third abuse, that known as *tafáwut-i-'amal*, or "practical difference," arose from the fact that since the old assessment was made many villages and districts had increased in wealth and yielded a higher revenue, while others had become smaller and poorer. In the latter case, only the decreased revenue actually yielded was remitted to the Treasury; but in the former, the governor collected taxes proportionate to the actual prosperity of the district, but only remitted the amount specified in the obsolete assessment, pocketing the difference, known as *tafáwut-i-'amal*, himself. In Fárs alone this amounted to 300,000 or 400,000 *túmáns* (£60,000 or £80,000).

Measures were also taken to secure the honest collection of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the taxes and to cause the appreciation of silver, which constituted the chief currency of the country. Under the old régime every functionary concerned in the collection of the revenues made his *madákhil* or "perquisites," and it is generally estimated that not much more than one-tenth of the money screwed out of the unfortunate tax-payers (often by the bastinado and other tortures) ultimately reached the Treasury. To prevent such extortion and exercise control over the local governors and their officers was one of the chief functions of the *anjumans* or Councils (Provincial, Departmental and Municipal) created by the National Assembly.

It must here be repeated and emphasized that the *anjumans* which now begin to play so important a part in the political struggle in Persia, and which have often, unfairly enough, been described as "revolutionary clubs," were primarily of two kinds, the official *anjumans* or Councils, of which mention has just been made, and the unofficial clubs, to which some other name, such as *majámi'*, should have been applied. The unofficial clubs, like clubs everywhere else, were of various kinds, some destined primarily to promote local interests or serve as meeting-places for people from the same town or province, others for debating, others philanthropic, and some, of course, purely political. Many of them supported night-schools for the instruction of the humbler classes in the duties and rights of citizenship, and thus rendered great service to the national awakening and development, while gratuitous medical aid was also rendered by many of them to the poor and needy. Debates, lectures and addresses were a prominent feature of most of these non-official *anjumans*, and orators of the popular party, such as the Maliku'l-Mutakallimín (who was strangled by the Sháh after the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908), and Áqá Sayyid Jamál, were assiduous in delivering lectures and harangues, whereby they succeeded not only in educating and enlightening the people, but also in impressing on them the necessity of prudence and self-restraint, and especially the absolute necessity of avoiding any act of aggression against any foreigner resident in Persia, so that no pretext might be given for foreign intervention. And the fact must be emphasized that, largely as the result of this

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

teaching, no foreign subject in Persia has, so far as is recorded, been injured in person or property in any place where the Constitutionalists were in power, notwithstanding the fact that for the last two years a state approaching civil war has prevailed throughout a large portion of Persia.

To return, however, to the Budget. By the economies above described a deficit of £570,000 was converted into a surplus of £230,000, the total saving effected being £800,000. Out of this surplus a sum of £120,000 was set apart for the Sháh's Civil List, while the remaining £110,000 was available for purposes of public utility. The revenue remained much the same as before (£1,430,000), but the expenditure was reduced from £2,000,000 to £1,200,000. The Sháh, however, was greatly displeased when he realized that the sum assigned for his Civil List was intended to cover all his expenses and to suffice for the maintenance of all the Royal Establishments (*Buyútát-i-Salṭanatí*), such as the Royal Mews, Coffee-house, Kitchen, Privy Purse, Wardrobe, Gardens, Women's Apartments, mules and beasts of burden, and the like. He took occasion to dismiss a number of his servants, telling them that the National Assembly had cut off their wages, and these agreed to assemble on a given day in a mosque near the Baháristán, which served as the House of Parliament, and create a riot. The National Assembly, however, being informed of their intention, took steps to prevent them from giving effect to it. Hence the relations between the Sháh and the Assembly continued to grow more strained, although, to restore confidence, he visited it in state on November 12, 1907, and again (I think for the fourth time) subscribed to the solemn oath which he had taken on the occasion of his coronation.

Meanwhile the Muḥtashamu's-Salṭana had been sent as Persian Commissioner to meet the Turkish Commissioner, Ṭáhir Pasha, in order to discuss the frontier difficulty. He left Ṭihrán on Nov. 4, but did not reach Urumiyya until Christmas Eve, while his communications with the Turkish Commissioner were not opened until December 29 at Mawána. During this month disorders also took place amongst the troops in Ṭihrán, including a conflict between the Cossacks and the Silahkhurís,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in which two or three persons were killed on either side, and mutinous behaviour amongst the troops commanded by Ẓafaru's-Salṭana, who furnished the guards and patrols for the capital. Serious disturbances also continued at Shíráz.

On December 14 the Náṣiru'l-Mulk's Cabinet (the best of all the Cabinets which succeeded one another during the twenty stormy months of the National Assembly's existence) resigned. The reason of its resignation was its failure to obtain the removal of the reactionary Amír Bahádur Jang from the supreme command of the army, and to bring the Cossack Brigade under the control of the Ministry of War. The day after the resignation of the Cabinet the Sháh began to prepare for his first *coup d'état*, which happily proved abortive. The *lúṭís*, or roughs, of the quarters of Sangilaj and Chálamaydán, headed by two of the superintendents of the Arsenal, entitled Muqtadir Niẓám and Ṣaní'-i-Ḥaẓrat, attacked and fired on the Baháristán, where the Assembly was sitting. They were, however, repelled without much difficulty, and retired to the Maydán-i-Túp-khána, while volunteers flocked to the defence of the Assembly and began to construct *sangars*, or barricades, round about it. Meanwhile the Sháh summoned to his Palace the Náṣiru'l-Mulk and the two brothers of the Iḥtishámu's-Salṭana, 'Alá'u'd-Dawla and Mu'ínu'd-Dawla. On their arrival they were separated from their retainers and detained in separate rooms. An old and faithful servant of the Náṣiru'l-Mulk, warned by one of his acquaintances in the Palace that he had better retire speedily as the Sháh intended to make an end of his master, mounted his horse and rode at full gallop to the British Legation, where he entreated Mr George Churchill, the Oriental Secretary, to come at once to his master's assistance. Mr Churchill mounted the horse and, attired in his ordinary clothes, hastened to the Palace and demanded to see the Sháh, whom he told that if any injury befel the Náṣiru'l-Mulk, who had been educated at an English University and honoured by the Sovereign of Great Britain, he would be held personally responsible. The Sháh, trembling with rage and fear (for it is said that he had already given orders for the execution of his minister and knew not whether or no he was still alive), commanded that the Náṣiru'l-Mulk should

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

be brought in, and when he appeared Mr Churchill took him back with him to his house, whence next day he was permitted to depart for Europe. Meanwhile the roughs and reactionary *mullás* were still demonstrating against the Constitution and murdering or maltreating such of its supporters as fell into their hands, amongst them a certain Ni'matu'lláh, whom they took and hanged on a tree. The volunteers who had flocked to the defence of the National Assembly, on the other hand, numbering some eight hundred and commanded by Ẓahíru's-Sulṭán, the Sháh's cousin, were actively engaged in preparing for resistance in case the Baháristán should be attacked. The discipline of these volunteers, amongst whom were included many men of education, such as Jahángír Khán, the editor of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl*, and Sayyid Muḥammad Riẓá of Shíráz, the editor of the *Musáwát* (two of the best and most remarkable papers which were published during the constitutional régime), was excellent, and the prevailing enthusiasm great. Four Committees were formed for the management of their affairs, a General Committee of Control (*Idára-i-Riyásat*), a Council of War (*Idára-i-Niẓámí*), a Committee of Supply and Expenditure (*Idára-i-Ázúqa wa Maṣáríf*) and a Publication Committee (*Idára-i-Maṭbú'át*). The crisis lasted about a fortnight, but finally the Sháh gave way, telegraphed to the Náṣiru'l-Mulk to return to Persia if he pleased (which he did not), recalled 'Alá'u'd-Dawla and Mu'ínu'd-Dawla from their exile, and sent a "sealed" Qur'án to the National Assembly to renew his oath of fidelity to the Constitution, adding that if he again broke his word he would be "answerable before God and man." Sayyid Taqí-záda made two memorable speeches on this occasion, one the day after the mob of reactionaries had fired on the Parliament buildings and another when the crisis was ended. In his second speech he pointed out what strength unity had given to them, and told them that "the hand of God was with the people" (*Yadu'lláhi ma'a'l-Jamá'at*), but urged them to forget the painful events of the last few days, and strive to dismiss from their minds all suspicions and vengeful thoughts. Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh of Bihbihán also added a few words. Meanwhile the reactionary *mullás* had taken refuge in the Masjid-i-Marwí.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

After this, strenuous attempts were made both by the 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk, the head of the Qájár (royal) tribe, and the Shu'á'u's-Salṭana, the Sháh's brother, to effect a lasting reconciliation between the Sháh and the National Assembly, and on the occasion of the two festivals known as 'Íd-i-Ghadír and 'Íd-i-Qurbán His Majesty received the Deputies who came to offer him their congratulations. Towards the end of Muḥarram, however (end of February or beginning of March, 1908) a very untoward event occurred, namely the throwing of a bomb at the Sháh's automobile. The Sháh himself was in another carriage, but the chauffeur was killed, and next day another bomb exploded in a dust-heap near the scene of the bomb-throwing, and killed two more men. The house from which the bomb was thrown was located, and its tenant, Sayyid Ghulám Riẓá of Marand, a goldsmith, was arrested and cross-examined, but the three men who had actually thrown the bomb escaped and could not be traced. Of course it was alleged by the Reactionaries that the bomb had been thrown by the Constitutionalists, while the latter declared that it was a ruse on the part of the former to discredit the popular party and alienate sympathy from them, and that the bomb-throwers were known to have been in communication with the Sháh's Russian tutor, the notorious Shapshál Khán. This latter view is set forth in a very instructive article by the Mudabbiru'l-Mulk, formerly editor of the *Tamaddun*, published in the Calcutta *Ḥablu'l-Matín* of Sha'bán 17, A.H. 1326 (September 14, 1908). But the matter still awaits elucidation.

About the end of Ṣafar (beginning of April, 1908) the Iḥtishámu's-Salṭana resigned the Presidency of the Assembly, in consequence of his growing unpopularity, due to his extreme conservatism and opposition to reforms, such as the formation of a national militia, and his attitude towards the control of public speaking and the Press. He had held office since the resignation of Ṣaní'u'd-Dawla on August 31, 1907, and was himself succeeded by the Mumtázu'd-Dawla (brother of the Persian Minister at Paris, the Mumtázu's-Salṭana), under whom matters went much more smoothly until a month or so before the *coup d'état* of June 23. Some of the leaders of the reactionary

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rioters, viz. Muqtadir Niẓám, Ṣaní'-i-Ḥaẓrat, Ná'ib Isma'íl and Sayyid Kamál, had been already punished and exiled to Kalát for ten years[1]; and in May, 1908, the murderers of the Zoroastrian Ferídún (who were certain of the Sháh's retainers), were also beaten and exiled to the same place. It was also determined to increase largely the amount of money devoted to education, and the grant to that Ministry was raised from 60,000 to 240,000 *túmáns* a year.

The event which led up to the second and disastrous *coup d'état* began towards the end of May, 1908. The relations between the Sháh and the Assembly being still very strained, the aged 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk constituted himself the intermediary between the Court and the Assembly. The Sháh demanded that the newspapers and the popular orators should cease to speak against him, while the Assembly demanded the dismissal of six of the most stubborn reactionaries who were regarded as chiefly responsible for the Sháh's constant intrigues against the Constitution. These six were, the Amír Bahádur Jang, Shapshál Khán (the Russian Jew who had been the Sháh's tutor and continued to be his evil genius), the Mufákhiru'l-Mulk, the Amínu'l-Mulk, the Muwaqqaru's-Salṭana and the Mujallalu's-Sulṭán. The Sháh consented to this, but required that the Assembly should act first, and at length it was agreed that action on both sides should be simultaneous. Finally the Constitutionalists elected a Committee consisting of the great popular orator Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín, Jahángír Khán, editor of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl*, Sayyid Muḥammad Riẓá of Shíráz, editor of the *Musáwát*, and some deputies influential in swaying public opinion, and these so exerted themselves on the side of moderation that very soon a much more respectful tone was adopted towards the Sháh both in the Press and by the popular orators. But still the Sháh refused to dismiss the obnoxious courtiers until finally a number of the nobles and notables, headed by Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla (cousin to the Sháh and son of the Ẓillu's-Sulṭán), 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, the Mu'tamad-i-Kháqán, the Sardár-i-Manṣúr and the Wazír-i-Humáyún, reinforced by the

[1] After the *coup d'état* of June 23, 1908, they were released and brought back in triumph to Ṭihrán by the reactionaries.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

anjumans and the people, urged the point so strongly that the Sháh at last gave way on June 1, 1908. The dismissed courtiers, however, did not go far afield, and the Amír Bahádur Jang took refuge in the Russian Legation, while Shapshál Khán and also the Cossack Colonel Liakhoff continued to visit the Sháh, who feigned to be in fear of the Constitutionalists.

On the following day (June 2) took place an act of intervention by the Russian Minister (and, as Sayyid Taqí-záda confidently asserts, the British Chargé d'Affaires) which greatly conduced to, if it did not actually cause, the miserable results which followed three weeks later. On the morning of that day, according to Sayyid Taqí-záda's narrative, these two diplomatists, who were then in their summer quarters, the one at Zarganda, the other at Qulahak, telegraphed in French to the Minister for Foreign Affairs informing him that they proposed to call on him at 4 p.m. that day, "pour discuter la situation actuelle, qui nous parait très-alarmante," and requesting him to invite the 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk and the Mumtázu'd-Dawla (the President of the Assembly) to meet them there. These two declined to come, on the ground that all communications from the representatives of foreign powers should be made through the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The diplomatists arrived at the time specified, and M. Hartwig, the Russian Minister, addressed a long remonstrance, concluding with a threat, to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs. "The life of the Sháh," he said, "is in jeopardy. What business have these Nationalists to interfere with His Majesty's personal servants, especially the old Amír Bahádur Jang, who watches over his master's safety like a faithful watch-dog? The *anjumans* and Nationalists have transgressed all bounds, and wish now to depose the Sháh. This we cannot tolerate, and should it happen, Russia will be compelled to interfere, and will do so with the approval and sanction of England." This was the substance of what M. Hartwig said, and, when he had ceased, Mr Marling, the British Chargé d'Affaires, briefly endorsed his remarks. The two then went on to the house of the 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk, with whom they found Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla and the 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, and made the same communication to him.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Mushíru'l-Mulk, the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, went immediately after the departure of M. Hartwig and Mr Marling to the National Assembly, and reported the sinister message which he had just received to the President, Mumtázu'd-Dawla, and Sayyid Taqí-záda and the Mustasháru'd-Dawla, two of the Deputies for Tabríz, who, dreading foreign intervention more than anything else, and deeming "a sick nation" to be better than "a dead nation," decided that all thought of armed opposition to the Sháh must, in view of Russia's threats, be abandoned.

Early next day (June 3, 1908) took place the Sháh's sudden flight from the city, where he was afraid to remain, to the Bágh-i-Sháh ("king's garden") outside the walls. This flight was carried out with great skill. First of all two regiments of Silakhurís (about 2000 men) were suddenly let loose on the town, and rushed through the streets and bázárs, arms and legs bare, shooting, shouting and slashing, and creating a general panic throughout the city. Meanwhile a body of 300 Cossacks and two guns passed the Baháristán, where the National Assembly was sitting, discussing the situation. Thither crowds flocked to learn the news or to prepare to defend the Assembly in case of need, and, while their attention was thus distracted, the Sháh suddenly emerged from his Palace amidst a cloud of Cossacks, Shapshál Khán, sword in hand, riding at his side, and went first to the Cossack barracks or *Qazzáq-khána*, entering by one gate and almost immediately emerging by another, where he was joined by Colonel Liakhoff and another body of Cossacks, who conducted him to the Bágh-i-Sháh, and where his son, the Walí-'ahd, or Crown Prince, a boy of ten or eleven years of age, subsequently joined him. It was not until two hours after the flight had been accomplished that it became generally known to the people that the Sháh had left the city.

From the Bágh-i-Sháh the Sháh wrote to the Chief Minister (*Ra'ísu'l-Wuzará*), the Mushíru's-Salṭana, a reassuring letter, saying that he merely desired change of air and rest, and that no political importance was to be attached to his leaving the town. Notwithstanding this, great alarm and anxiety pre-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

vailed amongst the people, and the next day about a thousand armed volunteers assembled in and round about the Baháristán, demanding that the gates should be closed, the military stores seized, and the Sháh's deposition proclaimed. Sayyid Taqízáda, however, accompanied by Ḥájji Mírzá Ibráhím Áqá, the Director of the Anjuman-i-Muẓaffarí, which had its rooms close to the entrance of the Baháristán, and served as a meeting-place for representatives of all the other *anjumans*, endeavoured to calm the people and persuade the Volunteers to lay down their arms or disperse, in which endeavour they ultimately succeeded, and tranquillity was re-established.

On June 4 the Sháh sent for the 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk, and through him transmitted reassuring messages to the nobles and notables, requesting that a dozen or so of them, who had most urgently demanded the dismissal of Shapshál Khán, should wait upon him at the Bágh-i-Sháh to discuss the situation. The notables in question, amongst whom were included Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, the Wazír-i-Humáyun, the Mu'tamad-i-Kháqán, the Sardár-i-Manṣúr, the Mu'áwinu'd-Dawla and the Qá'im-Maqám, very naturally mistrusted the Sháh, and at first declined to go, but on June 5 they were finally persuaded, by the assurances of 'Aẓudu'l-Mulk, to repair to the Bágh-i-Sháh. On their arrival there they had an interview with the Sháh, but as they were leaving several of them were arrested by the Cossacks and detained. The Mu'tamad-i-Kháqán, however, succeeded in effecting his escape, and hastened to the Assembly to inform the Deputies of what had taken place. He described how they had at first been well received by the Sháh, but how, at the close of the interview, as the Sháh retired into his *andarún*, a bugle was blown and all but himself (who hid behind the trees in the garden) were arrested; though only three, as afterwards transpired, viz. Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla, 'Alá'u'd-Dawla and the Sardár-i-Manṣúr were detained, and subsequently exiled to Fírúzkúh.

The Assembly had been engaged in endeavours to tranquillize the people, and moderate the vehemence of the Press, the *anjumans* and the public speakers, and to bring about an understanding with the Sháh, and a committee of twelve had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been appointed that very day for this purpose. The arrival of the Mu'tamad-i-Kháqán about sunset with the news of this fresh treachery on the Sháh's part naturally caused the utmost consternation and excitement, and the Sayyids 'Abdu'llah and Muḥammad at once wrote a letter to the Sháh demanding the release of the three captives.

Next day (June 6) the Sháh continued to collect troops, and seized all the telegraph-offices, which he placed under the charge of the Mukhbiru'd-Dawla, so that the National Assembly was now cut off from all communications with the provinces. The Wazír-i-Akram, who was the governor of Ṭihrán, was dismissed and replaced by Prince Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, an uncompromising reactionary. The Sháh also issued a manifesto in which he declared his intention of "extirpating certain mischief-makers" in the country; and a few days later the Director of the Anjuman-i-Birádarán-i-Darwáza-i-Qazwín ("Society of Brethren of the Qazwín Gate"), Mírzá Sulaymán Khán, who was also Assistant Minister of War, was arrested on the charge of supplying the supporters of the Constitution with arms from the Arsenal. He is still, or was a little while ago, a captive in the Bágh-i-Sháh.

The Sháh now established martial law, filled the town with Cossack patrols, and put Colonel Liakhoff in command, besides disarming the people as far as possible. On June 11 he sent an officer and 25 Cossacks to the Assembly with an ultimatum, saying that unless the people assembled in the Mosque dispersed within two hours, he would disperse them by force of arms, even if artillery had to be employed for this purpose. The Emergency Committee (which was practically the former Conciliation Committee, and consisted of the same twelve persons) unanimously agreed that, in the circumstances, their only course was to persuade the people to disperse, and the President of the Assembly, Mumtázu'd-Dawla, the Mustasháru'd-Dawla, and Sayyid Taqí-záda accordingly proceeded to the Mosque, where some 10,000 people were assembled, and advised them to depart to their homes. This at first they refused to do, nor was Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh, who afterwards addressed them, more successful. Finally Taqí-záda persuaded each of the *anjumans* to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appoint one or two representatives to discuss the matter, and at length he and his colleague and fellow-townsman the Mustasháru'd-Dawla induced them to agree to disperse. The people departed, weeping and sorrowful, and one man, Mahdí "Gáv-Kush," killed himself, declaring that he could not go back and face his wife with the admission that, after all the brave show and brave talk of past days, the Assembly was to be abandoned without the National Volunteers striking a blow.

Next day (June 12) Taqí-záda and Ḥájji Mírzá Ibráhím succeeded in somewhat reassuring the *anjumans*, but the Sháh continued to make fresh demands, and now required the expulsion from the capital of the following eight persons: Mírzá Jahángír Khán, the editor of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl*; Sayyid Muḥammad Riẓá of Shíráz, the editor of the *Musáwát*; the great Nationalist orators Maliku'l-Mutakallimín and Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín, both of Iṣfahán; Mírzá Dá'úd Khán; Prince Ẓahíru's-Sulṭán, the Sháh's cousin, a prominent officer of the National Volunteers; Ḥájji Mírzá Yaḥyá Dawlatábádí; and Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Birádar. In addition to the expulsion of these leaders of the popular party, the Sháh demanded control of the Press and disarmament of the people. These demands were the subject of protracted negotiations, and all the while the Sháh was removing arms and ammunition as fast as he could from the town to his camp at Bágh-i-Sháh.

On or about June 17 the shops were closed, and the merchants and guilds of craftsmen, accompanied by representatives of other *anjumans*, sent a deputation to the Assembly asking that a rallying-point, such as the Masjid-i-Jum'a, might be assigned to them, and ultimately they were permitted to use the Sipahsálár Mosque adjoining the Baháristán for this purpose, on condition that the refugees should bring no arms with them. Thus during the day-time large numbers of persons gathered again in the precincts of the Baháristán and Mosque, but at night they returned to their homes, leaving only their representatives and some hundred armed watchmen supplied by the Anjuman-i-Muẓaffarí. Meanwhile riots broke out in most of the provinces, especially at Rasht, Kirmán, Iṣfahán

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Tabríz. The town last named appointed a Committee of Assistance, raised a subscription, and telegraphed that they had deposed the Sháh. Between noon and sunset 1300 *túmáns* (about £260) was collected in Tabríz from the poor, and next day, having collected 10,000 *túmáns* (£2000) they despatched 300 horsemen under the command of Rashídu'l-Mulk to Ṭihrán to the aid of the Constitution. Amongst these volunteers were 50 men under the command of Sattár Khán and 50 men under the command of Báqir Khán, the heroes of the later defence of Tabríz. Other towns promised volunteers for the defence of the Constitution (*e.g.* Iṣfahán promised 5000 men), but the Tabríz contingent was the only one actually sent off.

During these days messengers kept constantly coming from the Sháh to the *Majlis* with fresh demands and impossible proposals, and the Mushíru's-Salṭana was now the only Minister admitted to audience with the Sháh, while all representations from the Deputies were, according to the account given by the Mudabbiru'l-Mulk (see p. 38 *supra*) at once translated and sent to the Russian Legation. On the evening of June 22, however (the eve of the fatal day), messengers from the Sháh brought reassurances designed to lull the Constitutionalists into a false security, and it was agreed between the two parties that all the matters in dispute between the Sháh and the people should be referred to a mixed Committee of *Dawlatís* and *Millátís*, *i.e.* Royalists and Constitutionalists. That night about 9 p.m. three of the Ministers, Ṣaní'u'd-Dawla (Finance), Mushíru'd-Dawla (Sciences and Arts) and Mu'tamanu'l-Mulk (Commerce), came to the Assembly and announced that the Sháh had accepted the proposal of a mixed Committee. After about an hour's discussion the Assembly dispersed, it being understood that in the morning some of the Sháh's representatives should come to the Assembly and settle all necessary details. At midnight the Mushíru's-Salṭana, the Chief Minister, sent a letter to the Mumtázu'd-Dawla, the President of the Assembly, saying that the Sháh had accepted all their proposals. For the first time for more than three weeks anxiety was sensibly relieved and the prospect of a reconciliation seemed brighter.

Early on the morning of the fatal 23rd of June a number of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Cossacks entered the court-yard of the Sipahsálár College, but the *tufangchís*, or Nationalist riflemen, induced them by friendly persuasion and exhortations to withdraw, whereupon the doors were closed. At this time the Baháristán and Mosque were surrounded by some 1000 Cossacks and soldiers, but the street was also full of troops, and passage was interdicted. The eight persons whose expulsion had been demanded by the Sháh were in refuge in a room adjoining the Assembly. News of what was taking place was telephoned to the *'ulamá* and deputies, and the President of the Assembly, Mumtázu'd-Dawla, Mírzá Muḥammad Ṣádiq, editor of the *Majlis* newspaper, and three of the chief *'ulamá*, the Imám-Jum'a of Khúy and the Mujtahids Bihbihání and Ṭabáṭabá'í at once hastened to the scene and were admitted. Sayyid Taqí-záda was indisposed and did not come until later, when he was unable to obtain admittance. At first all who wished were allowed by the Cossacks to enter, but none to come out; but afterwards both entrance and exit were stopped.

Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Ṭabáṭabá'í and the Mumtázu'd-Dawla now sent for the Persian officer in command of the Cossacks assembled outside the Baháristán, a man named Qásim Áqá, and asked him what they wanted. He replied that they were ordered to disperse the people. They promised to induce them to disperse themselves by persuasion, but the officer refused to listen to them. At this juncture (about an hour after sunrise) Colonel Liakhoff, accompanied by six other Russian officers, drove up to the Baháristán in a carriage, inspected the ground, divided and disposed his troops, and placed six guns in six different positions. Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh sent a message to Colonel Liakhoff requesting speech with him, but was met by a refusal. Some of the National Volunteers asked permission to shoot the Russian Colonel, who had now mounted his horse, but were forbidden to do so, lest this should afford a pretext for Russian intervention. For the same reason Shapshál Khán, who was prominent, was allowed to escape without scathe or hurt.

Colonel Liakhoff now re-entered his carriage and drove away to the Khiyábán-i-Ẓillu's-Sulṭán, and as he passed the rooms of the Anjuman-i-Ázarbáyján, the guns, under the direction

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the other Russian officers, opened fire on the Mosque and Baháristán. Thereupon some fifty foot-soldiers, who were drawn up in front of the buildings just named, stripped off their red coats, handed over their rifles to the defenders of the *Majlis*, and, unarmed, entered the Nationalist garrison. Many of the mounted Cossacks also fled, but the Russian officers snatched their rifles from them and shot several of the fugitives, whereupon the rest reformed and opened fire, killing about a dozen of the Nationalist Volunteers (*tufang-dárs*) at the first volley. Just before this volley one Cossack wheeled and manœuvred his horse in front of the Anjuman-i-Ázarbáyján, and discharged several shots from his rifle.

Hitherto the Nationalists had refrained from firing, and indeed not much more than a hundred of them were provided with guns and from 50 to 100 cartridges apiece. Of these, however, they now made good use, and succeeded in putting out of action three of the six pieces of artillery which had been set up to bombard the Parliament. A gallant attempt was also made by the Anjuman-i-Muẓaffarí and the Anjuman-i-Ázarbáyján to capture the other guns, but they were driven back by reinforcements of Cossacks. The gun which did most damage to them was to the north, in the Khiyábán-i-Darwáza-i-Shimrán. In spite of the shrapnel poured in on the defenders, however, the resistance was continued for seven or eight hours, until finally the two buildings which had for the best part of two years been the centre of the Nation's hopes, and the focus of the new spirit which had stirred the dry bones of a seemingly dead people to new life, the Baháristán and the Sipahsálár Mosque, were reduced to ruins, and the defenders either slain, taken captive, or put to flight. The number of the killed on either side is unknown. Of the leaders of the people, Sayyid Taqí-záda, the Mu'ázidu's-Salṭana and some thirty or forty others succeeded in reaching the shelter of the British Legation, which, however, was instructed to admit only such fugitives as were in danger of their lives. The eight Nationalists whose expulsion the Sháh had previously demanded, and who had taken refuge in the Sipahsálár College (see p. 44 *supra*) fled to the house of the Amínu'd-Dawla, which was close at hand, but

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this traitor at once telephoned news of their arrival to the Cossack head-quarters, and soldiers were immediately sent to arrest them. One, Ḥájjí Mírzá Ibráhím, was killed while resisting the soldiers' attempt to strip him, and the others were taken to the Sháh's camp at Bágh-i-Sháh, where next day Mírzá Jahángír Khán and the Maliku'l-Mutakallimín were strangled. The Sháh's cousin, Prince Ẓahíru's-Sulṭán, was also led out for execution, but was spared at the last moment, owing, it was said, to the declaration of his mother, the sister of the late Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh, that she would kill herself if her son were put to death. After being cross-examined, he was finally released and allowed to go to Europe[1]. Of the remaining four, Sayyid Muḥammad Riẓá succeeded in escaping, and wandered about, enduring extreme hardships from hunger and exposure, in Mázandarán and Gílán, but news of his safe arrival in the Caucasus has recently been received. Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín also escaped from Ṭihrán, but is said to have been captured in disguise near Hamadán and put to death. The Mustasháru'd-Dawla, the honest and fearless Tabríz deputy, and Mírzá Yaḥyá Dawlatábádí are still (unless they have died under the sufferings which they endure) in chains and captivity at the Bágh-i-Sháh, with many other captives, of whom the following twenty-two are included in a photograph in my possession dated Jumádu'l-úlá 23, A.H. 1326 (= July 4, 1908): (1) Náṣiru'l-Mamálik, brother-in-law of the Sáláru'd-Dawla; (2) Ḥishmat-i-Niẓám; (3) Mashhadí Báqir of Tabríz; (4) Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, editor of the *Taraqqí*; (5) Muḥammad Sharíf, partner of No. 10; (6) Ibráhím Ṭabbál; (7) Faraju'lláh the tobacconist; (8) Shaykh Ibráhím; (9) Mírzá Ḥusayn; (10) Sulṭánu'l-'ulamá, editor of the *Rúḥu'l-Quds*, which was suspended for publishing a strong article against the Sháh; (11) Shaykh 'Alí Qází-i-Qazwíní, judge of the Supreme Court, one of the few survivors out of Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín's chosen band of twelve disciples[2]; (12) Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, son of the

[1] He paid me a visit at Cambridge on November 20, 1908.

[2] Amongst these twelve were also Mírzá Muḥammad Riẓá of Kirmán, who killed Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh on May 1, 1896, and was hanged on August 12 of the same year; Mírzá Áqá Khán, who was secretly put to death at Tabríz with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Maliku'l-Mutakallimín who was strangled, as already mentioned; (13) Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán, of the Supreme Court; (14) Mírzá 'Alí Akbar, brother of No. 11; (15) Ḥájji Muḥammad Taqí, a Deputy; (16) 'Alí Beg, servant of the Mustasháru'd-Dawla; (17) Ḥájji Khán the tailor; (18) Shaykh Ibráhím of Ṭálaqán; (19) Áqá Buzurg Khán; (20) Yaḥyá Mírzá, editor of the *Ḥuqúq*; (21) Mírzá Dá'úd Khán, the partner of Mírzá Jahángír Khán who was strangled; and (22) Ná'ib Báqir Khán, the door-keeper of the National Assembly[1].

For several successive days the houses of persons obnoxious to the Sháh, including his uncle the Prince Ẓillu's-Sulṭán, and his cousin Prince Jalálu'd-Dawla (son of him last mentioned) and the Ẓahíru'd-Dawla (uncle by marriage to the Sháh, father of the Ẓahíru's-Sulṭán, and at this time governor of Rasht), were bombarded and looted by the soldiers, and priceless manuscripts and objects of art fell into the hands of Colonel Liakhoff and his myrmidons. The Baháristán and adjoining Sipahsálár Mosque were reduced to ruins, and all the precious records of the National Assembly destroyed. Colonel Liakhoff was appointed military governor of Ṭihrán, which he placed under martial law. He surrounded the British Legation with his Cossacks to prevent more fugitives from gaining its shelter, though these were removed a few days later in deference to British protests, and the *Persian* Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'Alá'u's-Sulṭana, lately Persian Minister in London, was compelled to offer a formal apology to the British Chargé d'Affaires which would more aptly have come from Colonel Liakhoff or whatever *Russian* authority controlled his actions. Other disagreeable incidents occurred significant of the hostility felt by the Court party and its Russian aiders and abettors towards the English representatives, who, if they had finally left the Constitutionalists in the lurch, had none the less, by the support

Ḥájji Shaykh Aḥmad of Kirmán, called "Rúḥí," in the same year, and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Khán of Ṭihrán, who committed suicide about 1902.

[1] In the photograph, which is reproduced as a picture post-card with Persian inscriptions, the captives are arranged in two rows of eleven each, one standing, the other kneeling, all in chains and nearly all bare-headed. The numbers (added in the post-card) run from right to left, Nos. 1—11 being in the upper and Nos. 12—22 in the lower row.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which they gave them in the summer of 1906, earned the hearty dislike and cordial mistrust of the reactionaries. An affray, which might have had fatal results, took place between some Cossacks and the Indian *suwárs* who constitute the guard of the British Legation, but news of this was prevented from appearing in most of the English papers except (I think) the *Daily Telegraph*, lest the "entente" should be damaged, and in this case Colonel Liakhoff was obliged to apologize, while the Cossacks who took part in the affray were punished. The following proclamation, originally issued and posted up all over Ṭihrán in Colonel Liakhoff's name, was also, in deference to British susceptibilities, and the desire to mask in some degree the active part played by Russian agents in the *coup d'état*, replaced in a few days by another signed by a dummy Persian governor nominated *ad hoc*. Colonel Liakhoff, however, is still (January, 1909) *de facto* governor of Ṭihrán. The text of the proclamation mentioned above, translated from the weekly Calcutta *Ḥablu'l-Matín* of Ramaẓán 2, A.H. 1326 (Sept. 28, 1908), pp. 8 *et sqq.*, is as follows.

"PROCLAMATION.

"Agreeably to the Command of His Royal and Imperial Majesty (may our lives be his sacrifice!) and for the assurance of public security and the due enforcement of the laws regulating the internal order of the city of Ṭihrán, I announce for the information of the public the matters hereinafter mentioned, together with the necessary general regulations which have been enacted.

"(1) The regulation of all the affairs and dispositions of the Capital is entrusted to the Officers and Cossacks of His Imperial Majesty's Brigade, the Gendarmerie, the regiments of Khalakh and Zarand, and the Police of the Department of Public Security.

"(2) Any persons transgressing the commands of the Law herein set forth, or failing in obedience thereto, will be prosecuted and punished with the utmost rigour. Persons suffering from tyranny or oppression of any kind are hereby permitted

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and empowered to submit their complaints and appeals to this Office, or to lay them before me personally.

"(3) Offenders proved guilty of acts of tyranny and oppression towards such complainants will be summarily punished, and the wrongs suffered by the latter will be righted, under the supervision of an officer nominated by the Government. In cases of theft, assault, or contumacy, the victims of such acts must, on their occurrence, notify the officer in command at the nearest guardhouse.

"(4) The prices of bread and meat must remain at the present rate. Should the normal price be raised, those responsible for such rise will be fined a sum of money double the amount of the difference between the normal price and the raised price at which they have sold.

"(5) Assemblies in the streets or open spaces of the city exceeding five persons, whether assembled to watch street-performances or to listen to speeches, will be dispersed by armed force.

"(6) Persons engaged in the sale of fire-arms or their appurtenances are hereby warned that from this date onwards they are rigorously prohibited from selling such to anyone without my permission. Permission to sell arms to persons who are in need of them will be granted by me only.

"(7) Seeing that the discharge of fire-arms in the town may give rise to the idea of some disturbance, [should such occur] a number of Cossacks will at once be despatched to that place to put down the disturbance. If a gun be discharged by mistake, the offender will be imprisoned for a definite period. If a gun be fired at a thief by night, some of the Cossacks who are guarding the city will be detailed to enter the house and make the necessary investigations. Persons deliberately and wilfully discharging fire-arms will, when captured, be punished with the utmost rigour.

"(8) Should a gun be discharged from any house in the streets or quarters of the city in the direction of any street or place patrolled by the soldiers, who will be constantly on the

27706

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

move, that house will be destroyed and reduced to ruins by artillery and musketry, should it be clearly and certainly proved that ulterior motives prompted such discharge. In such cases the house will be destroyed and reduced to ruins with guns and cannons.

"(9) Persons who have been in the habit of depositing in the streets and thoroughfares loads of straw, fire-wood, planks and the like, are strictly forbidden to commit such acts in the future.

"(10) Carriages and droshkies must stand one behind the other on the right-hand side of the street. Should any dispute be witnessed between the drivers, they will be punished.

"(11) The duty of scavenging, watering and keeping in order the streets and thoroughfares is incumbent on the owners or tenants of the adjacent houses.

"(12) I desire all the inhabitants of Ṭihrán to assist me in supervising all matters connected with the maintenance of order in the city.

[Signed] Palkonik (Colonel) LIAKHOFF,
Officer in command of the mounted Cossack Brigade of His Imperial Majesty (may our lives be his sacrifice!)."

In spite of its specious form, the stringency of this proclamation sufficiently accounts for the paralysis of all further activity (at any rate open activity) on the part of the Constitutionalists at Ṭihrán, since the right of meeting and free speech was effectually removed, the free press was destroyed, and the possession of arms or materials for the construction of barricades was rendered impossible.

So much for Ṭihrán, which still, seven months after the *coup d'état*, lies paralysed under the iron heel of the Cossack Colonel. Let us now briefly glance at the rest of Persia. Qazwín seems to have been taken completely by surprise, and to have been overpowered without striking a blow. Rasht, strongly in favour of the Constitution, was terrorized by a Russian war-ship which appeared off its port, Enzelí, and of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which the captain bade the Constitutionalist governor, Ẓahíru'd-Dawla, close the *anjuman*, adding that in case of non-compliance he had instructions from Ṭihrán (from whom is not related) to do so himself. The South, where the Constitutional movement had been less developed than in the North, made no coherent effort to regain its liberties, though lately (at the end of 1908 and beginning of 1909) more or less successful risings have taken place in Tálish by the Caspian Sea, at Mashhad in Khurásán, and lately at Iṣfahán, while further south, in Fárs, anarchy seems still to reign. Tabríz, and the province of Ázarbáyján, of which it is the capital, alone resisted the reactionary triumph and still keep the flag of freedom flying.

The day before the *coup d'état* (June 22, 1908) the Mujtahid of Tabríz, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan, the Imám Jum'a, Ḥájji Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím, Mír Háshim and other reactionary ecclesiastics, telegraphed to the Sháh denouncing the Constitution and encouraging him to destroy it. When this became known it aroused great resentment amongst the staunch Constitutionalists of Tabríz. A *fidá'í*, or National Volunteer, fired a shot at Mír Háshim, but missed him, and was at once seized and killed. The reactionary clergy then assembled in the Devechí (or Cameleer's) quarter, situated in the north-west of the city by the river Ájí, and then seized and put to death a number of supporters of the Parliament, while, on the other hand, a bomb was thrown at the house of the Mujtahid, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan. Thus broke out, on the very day of the *coup d'état*, the civil war which is still maintained in Ázarbáyján. The progress of the struggle, the heroism of Sattár Khán and his lieutenant Báqir Khán and their gallant followers, the barricades, the street-fighting, and the gradual but steady successes of the Nationalists up to October 5, 1908, have been admirably described by the *Times* correspondent at Tabríz, whose withdrawal from the town on the date above-mentioned is deeply to be regretted. From then till now only rare and uncertain items of news reach us through St Petersburg, save that on Saturday, October 24, the following telegram was despatched at 11.30 p.m. from Constantinople by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Persian patriotic club in that city entitled the Anjuman-i-Sa'ádat to a Persian resident at Cambridge:

"The following telegram has arrived from Tabríz.

"'In this district we have taken measures to secure order in the locality. Hitherto no act of aggression has been committed by the Liberals (*aḥrár*) against the rights of a single foreign subject. Nevertheless our Northern Neighbour (*i.e.* Russia), with a view to political intrigues, is intending to advance a number of soldiers. Make known these details, according to political exigencies, in the proper quarters. The Anjuman-i-Ayálatí (Provincial Council) has taken steps to meet the emergency. Give information.'

ANJUMAN-I-SA'ÁDAT."

News to the same effect, derived from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, appeared in the *Sunday Times* or the *Observer* of Sunday, October 25, and it was there stated that six Russian infantry battalions, with artillery and cavalry, had crossed the Persian frontier with the intention of occupying Tabríz, and that they were expected to reach that city, where great panic prevailed, that very day. Happily this news, which was repeated from various quarters during the next few days[1], on the authority of Reuter and of the *Times* correspondent at St Petersburg, proved to be untrue, but the danger seemed imminent enough not only to the citizens of Tabríz, but also to the Turks at Constantinople, to whom a Russian occupation of Ázarbáyján would obviously be an intolerable menace.

In Sattár Khán, a man of quite humble origin, but endowed with real military talent, Persia may prove to have found her Garibaldi. Fighting street by street and quarter by quarter, he gradually obtained possession of the whole of Tabríz, of which at first he held but two or three quarters (notably that of Amír-Khíz) out of the thirty into which the city is divided. Again and again he defeated the Royalist troops sent against

[1] See, for example, *The Times*, *Daily News* and *Daily Telegraph* of Oct. 19, 1908. A fortnight later (on Nov. 2) *The Times* had so far forgotten its previous statement that it mocked at the Persian refugees for "professing to be apprehensive that Russia is about to invade the province of Ázarbáyján and seize Tabríz."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

him, first under Shukru'lláh Khán Shujá' Niẓám, and afterwards under the notorious reactionary Amír Bahádur Jang, and now (January, 1909) the greater part of Ázarbáyján seems to be under his control. He has acted throughout with a moderation and humanity which contrast sharply with the excesses of the Sháh's ragamuffin soldiers, who have plundered and looted whenever they got the chance. And the Constitutionalists have steadily declared that they neither seek to depose the Sháh nor to rebel against him, but only to regain the Constitution which his father, the late Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh, granted them two years and a half ago, and which the present Sháh has repeatedly sworn to respect and maintain. The Sháh's pretence that Constitutional government is contrary to Islám, supported by a few venal and discredited *mullás* like Shaykh Faẓlu'lláh, Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan the *mujtahid* of Tabríz, and the like, is disproved by the strong manifestoes in favour of the Constitution repeatedly issued by the great *mujtahids* of Najaf—the supreme spiritual heads of the Persian nation—Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥusayn, son of Mírzá Khalíl, Mírzá Muḥammad Káẓim of Khurásán and Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh of Mázandarán.

When the telegraph-office at Tabríz fell into Sattár Khán's hands an examination of the originals of telegrams sent to Ṭihrán by the reactionaries since the *coup d'état* was made, and photographs of the most important were taken. These photographs, it must be understood, were taken from the signed and sealed manuscript messages sent to the office while it was in the hands of the reactionaries for transmission to Ṭihrán, which originals were preserved in case of any question arising as to the accuracy or authenticity of the message telegraphed. Eight of these photographs are in my possession, and are briefly as follows:

(1) From Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan the *Mujtahid* and Ḥájji Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím the *Imám-Jum'a* of Tabríz to the commander-in-chief, Ḥusayn Páshá Khán of Qáraja-Dágh, Amír Bahádur Jang, despatched, apparently, on July 27, 1908, describing the valour and victories of the Royalist leaders, Shujá' Niẓám and Ẓarghám Niẓám (son of the notorious Raḥím Khán), and the desperate straits to which the Nationalists were reduced in the Amír-Khíz quarter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(2) From Shukru'lláh Khán Shujá' Niẓám to the Sháh through the Amír Bahádur Jang, despatched on July 30, 1908, stating that the Nationalists have suffered heavy losses and are practically annihilated, that their fire had ceased for two days, and that Sattár Khán was reported killed[1].

(3) From the two ecclesiastics mentioned in No. 1 to the Commander-in-Chief, Amír Bahádur Jang, praising the Royalist generals Shujá' Niẓám and Sardár-i-Nuṣrat, but complaining of lack of money, guns and ammunition, and stating that they (the senders) have borrowed money from the Bank for the sustentation of the reactionary Islámiyya Anjuman. Should they speedily receive more money, they hope that "please God the affair will end well, but if not, it will end in disgrace and disaster." It concludes, "Kings best know what is for the good of their own kingdoms."

(4) A long telegram from the notorious reactionary Mír Háshim to the Amír Bahádur Jang, describing vigorous fighting on both sides, but complaining of the incompetence of the Royalist leaders, the self-seeking intrigues of the chief *Mujtahid* and the *Imám-Jum'a*, the divided counsels of the Sháh's supporters, and the general disorder and confusion. Most of the members of the reactionary Islámiyya Anjuman are leaving it in disgust. The sender vaunts his own services to the Sháh, and especially the advances of money which he has made for the Royalist cause, but declares that all his efforts are frustrated by the envious rivalry of the two ecclesiastics, and that nothing is to be hoped for until more troops and a competent governor arrive. In conclusion he asks permission to leave Tabríz, and either retire to Ni'mat-ábád to nurse a bullet-wound which he has received, or come to Ṭihrán "to visit the August Threshold."

(5) From Ḥájji Mírzá Ḥasan the *Mujtahid* to the Mushíru's-Salṭana (the Premier) and the Amír Bahádur Jang. This telegram is couched in very strong language and runs as follows:

"The stress and urgency of the matter compel me to

[1] Sattár Khán was actually wounded seriously, but, in order that his followers might not be discouraged, he bravely concealed his wounds until they had ceased to be dangerous.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

boldness and even discourtesy. You treat as a trifle so grave a matter, wherein blood has been shed, houses plundered, well-known and respected ecclesiastics and others are without tidings of their houses and families, who are in another quarter of the town, all in jeopardy; and you think to conclude it without money by complimentary telegrams. His Imperial Majesty is ready to spend a crore of *túmáns*, and besides Ḥájji Ibráhím's 20,000 *túmáns*, 10,000 *túmáns* have been credited to the Bank. Ḥájji Ibráhím has paid nothing to the credit of the government. At the beginning of the affair he advanced 8000 *túmáns* to Prince Muqtadiru'd-Dawla, and another 2000 to the Sardár on his arrival, but now he seeks to recover these sums. For an affair which needs an expenditure of 100,000 *túmáns* only 10,000 *túmáns* have so far been sent by the government. It is an extraordinary thing that a telegram was sent to Mír Háshim stating that 10,000 *túmáns* had been credited to the *Mujtahid* (*i.e.* the sender of this telegram), but when and where? It was never given: Why do you suspect me? The Muqtadiru'd-Dawla also, with a thousand difficulties, has given 10,000 *túmáns*. Briefly I tell you that the matter is very urgent, that through lack of money the affair of the bake-house (*Khabbáz-khána*) lags, that the guns want for cartridges, that the servants give notice and refuse to go about their business. If proper measures be not speedily taken, we your petitioners shall no longer be able to maintain ourselves, and what should not be will befall the Government and the Holy Law. Let a telegram be sent to the army now on its way hither to make haste."

We now come to the two most important telegrams of the series, Nos. 6 and 7, both sent by the Shujá' Niẓám, commanding the Sháh's troops before Tabríz, to the Sháh, the first through the Minister of War, the second through the Prime Minister. They are not dated, but both were despatched at some date anterior to July 27, when, according to a note on the original, they were "translated into the Firangí language." The "Legation" and "Consul-General" referred to in the first can hardly be other than the Russian, so that here we have very strong evidence to prove that not merely Russians in the Persian service like Colonel Liakhoff and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Shapshál Khán, but also Russian diplomatic and consular agents, actively aided the Sháh by supplying his soldiers with cartridges, as there is strong reason to believe they supplied himself and his courtiers with money. The full translation of these two telegrams (apart from the addresses and superscriptions) is as follows:

(6) "The rascals inhabiting the [Nationalist] quarters have all retired. A number of the rebels are collected in the Amír-Khíz quarter. To-day, Friday, I have taken most of Sattár's barricades. He has erected two strong barricades and brought up two shrapnel guns, which he is continually firing, but they cannot fire properly, and, thank God, no harm has been done anywhere; while the guns which your humble servant has set up have nearly finished them off. Should it accord with the August Judgement [of Your Majesty], *let instructions be given from the Legation to the Consul-General to supply ten or twenty thousand cartridges.* Little is wanting to finish off the matter.

"Your humble servant Shukru'lláh [Shujá' Niẓám]."

(7) "*The Royal Command and also the cartridges have arrived.* Thanks to the favour of His Holiness the Proof [*i.e.* the Imám Mahdí], (may God hasten his glad Advent!) and the undiminished fortune of His Majesty (may the lives of the worlds be his sacrifice!) your servant hopes that to-morrow the matter of Amír-Khíz will be disposed of. These prominent citizens who now act with such ingratitude owe all their wealth and lives to the Royal bounty. These traitors and infidels deserve that all their possessions should be forfeited to the Crown.

"Your humble servant Shukru'lláh [Shujá' Niẓám]."

(8) From Mír Háshim to the Amír Bahádur Jang, beginning with prayers for and praises of that courtier, then describing his own labours and sacrifices for the Sháh's interests, and again complaining of the egotism and incompetence of the other reactionary leaders and clerics, while disclaiming any personal feeling of enmity or resentment, and professing his own unalterable loyalty. He adds that the rebels should easily be discomfited and destroyed within three

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

days if the other reactionary leaders will refrain from interfering with his plans, and begs that they may be admonished to this effect.

(9) The last telegram of the series is addressed by one of the Sháh's men named Minúchihr to the Sháh. The sender declares that he can no longer keep silence as to the true state of affairs. "Tabríz and its environs," he continues, "are utterly destroyed and done for." He then proceeds to denounce the incompetence of "that fool" the Shujá' Niẓám, and the meddling of self-seeking clergy in political matters, to restrain whom, he says, he has exerted all his efforts, even to the extent of *flattering and petitioning the representatives of the foreign governments.* He complains of reckless rocket-firing on the part of Shujá' Niẓám, contrary to the Sháh's orders, and says that one of these rockets struck the house of the Royalist general, Sardár-i-Nuṣrat. He swears that, while he would sustain without a murmur any personal loss or injury "for the good of the State and the absolute authority of the Crown," the ruin of the city and surrounding country have surpassed all limits, and compel him to speak. He accuses the Shujá' Niẓám of being actuated in his proceedings by greed and spite, and feigns fear that his own life may be attempted by his rival. "Please God," he concludes, "when Prince 'Aynu'd-Dawla arrives the truth of my representations will become known. I say plainly, what houses, what shops, what bázárs have been and are being plundered! I make constant representations to the Áqás (*i.e.* the *Mujtahid* and the *Imám-Jum'a*), but, instead of weighing these well-intended representations in the balance of their understanding, and having regard to the welfare of the country, I hear of a thousand misdeeds perpetrated by the Áqás themselves and that madman of Marand (the Shujá' Niẓám). Not a day passes but official communications are received from the representatives of the foreign governments, but these gentry pay no heed to such details. The only persons who share my views are the Sardár-i-Nuṣrat and Mír Háshim. I humbly crave your speedy and immediate attention, so that the country may not be further devastated."

All these telegrams were sent subsequently to June 23, 1908, and, apparently, before the arrival of Prince 'Aynu'd-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dawla, whose misgovernment and tyranny had been one of the chief original causes of the popular revolt against the autocracy of the Crown in December, 1905. He too being unable to effect anything, it was decided to send a body of Cossacks from Ṭihrán under the command of one of the Russian officers attached to the Cossack Brigade. It was on October 11, 1908, on the occasion of the departure of these troops from the capital for Tabríz, that Colonel Liakhoff is reported to have delivered the following speech, which is here translated from the account furnished to the Constantinople journal *Ṣabáh* for November 11, 1908 (No. 6871). Its authenticity has been denied, but many other things have been denied which actually happened, and it bears a certain impress of authenticity. Here it is:

"Brave soldiers and Cossacks! Since the Cossack Brigade was first formed[1] you have on many occasions shown unparalleled courage, and, in the highest degree, loyalty to the Sháh and your superiors. In recognition of this many of you have been honoured with decorations, gifts and all sorts of other favours, *both from the Russian and the Persian Sovereigns.* Your attack on the Ṭihrán agitators[2] assembled in the Parliament buildings and the Sipahsálár Mosque filled the whole world with amazement. A small Brigade was victorious in battle against the rebels, of whom you succeeded in destroying half, after which you reduced to ruins their accursed stronghold and successfully maintained your advantage. In this battle many of your comrades perished, but their death only served to strengthen your victorious renown.

"The Sháh's throne is in danger. The people of Tabríz, having collected together from all quarters a mob of common folk, have seized the rifles and artillery of the Government. They have declared war against the Sháh, and refuse to obey his authority. They are striving to compel him again to accept a Constitution. This Constitution will limit and impair the rights and privileges of the Cossack Brigade, and will exercise

[1] It was first established in 1882 at an estimated annual cost of 231,302 *túmáns*, and then consisted of ten Russian officers and 1500 privates. The original contract, signed by the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Russian Minister, was published by the *Ḥablu'l-Matín* (No. 11), and the details of the expenditure in No. 16 of the *Tamaddun* (for May 16, 1907).

[2] On June 23, 1908, on the occasion of the *coup d'état.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

control over your wages. The Constitution is your worst enemy. Against this enemy you must fight to the last drop of your blood. The Shah has sent against Tabríz Bakhtiyárí, Silahkhurí and other troops, all of whom have been worsted, so that they fled before even so timorous a foe as the Tabríz rebels. This need cause no astonishment, since they were wanting alike in order, discipline and obedience. As was seen when the Parliament was destroyed, they can only be employed for looting. They are a worthless lot.

"When I saw in how difficult a position the Sháh was placed, I offered him the services of the Cossack Brigade. I was firmly convinced that the Brigade would distinguish itself in battle, and that the mere sight of the Cossacks would fill the enemy with despair. This is not your first battle, for you have been engaged in other battles before now. You have proved your capacity in war. But in this war against a mob of cowardly rioters, the victory which you will secure will immortalize your name and fame, and will fill the whole world with astonishment. In order that you may not have to suffer any hardships on the march or during the campaign, I have caused you to be provided with every sort of necessary provision. You must know that, should you return victorious, you will be overwhelmed with money and favours *both on the part of the Russian and the Persian Sovereigns. Whatever wealth is contained within the walls of Tabríz, all shall be yours!*

"You must know that for you to conquer Tabríz is a matter of life and death. If you conquer, the Constitution will lapse. If its supporters win, the Brigade will be disbanded, and you and your wives and children will remain hungry. Do not forget this, and fight like lions. Either you or the Constitution!

"I was very desirous of accompanying you on this campaign, but the political conditions do not admit of it. But another Russian, Captain Ushakoff, is going. You must love him as you love me, and obey him as you obey me. Although I cannot be beside you, I shall always follow your doings from afar. Everyone will receive a reward proportionate to his merits, but should anyone play the traitor he will be severely punished.

"However fierce the war may be, and however numerous the foe may be, rest assured that you will triumph. The Hidden

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Hand which has so often aided you will aid you in this campaign also, so that you shall not behold the face of defeat. Do not despair of it, or of God Almighty[1].

"Brave officers and Cossacks! May God grant you safety and a glorious victory!"

The achievements of these heroes against the Constitutionalists of Tabríz have not yet "filled the world with astonishment," but in spite of many protests, not only on the part of the English but of part of the Russian Press, Colonel Liakhoff has not been withdrawn from the service of the Sháh, whom the Governments of Great Britain and Russia are supposed to be urging to restore the Constitution. Even the reactionary *Novoe Vremya*, according to the *Times* of Sept. 26, 1908, described Colonel Liakhoff as "a public nuisance," but so far he remains a nuisance which the Russian Government has not endeavoured to abate, though, in accordance with their ancient practice, they may have openly disavowed actions which they have taken no practical steps to check. In this connection reference must be made to the expulsion from Persia, at the request of the Sháh, by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, M. Sablin, of the correspondent of the Liberal Russian journal the *Ryech*. This correspondent, whose name was Panoff, had interviewed Colonel Liakhoff, who, apparently, had boasted in his presence of the part which he and his Cossacks had played in the *coup d'état*. When the purport of this conversation was published in the *Ryech*, Colonel Liakhoff issued a disclaimer, whereupon M. Panoff substantiated his report by the testimony of witnesses who were present at the interview. Some time afterwards M. Panoff communicated to his paper a most insidious and dangerous device which, as he alleged, had been hit upon by the Sháh to provoke Russian intervention against the Constitutionalist stronghold in Ázarbáyján. The Sháh's soldiers, disguised as *fidá'is*, or National Volunteers, were to commit outrages on foreign subjects in Tabríz and the neighbourhood, and to attack the Russian outposts on the frontier, for which deeds Sattár Khán, whose wisdom and self-restraint had hither-

[1] What is meant by "the Hidden Hand" in this sentence is not clear. I asked one of my Persian friends whether it referred to the Power of God or of Russia. He replied that it was purposely ambiguous, but the last words of the sentence would suggest that it denotes the latter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to given no excuse for Russian intervention, would be held responsible. On the publication of this statement in the *Ryech* on December 5 (18), 1908, the Sháh requested the Russian Legation to expel the obnoxious correspondent, and M. Sablin, taking advantage of an old regulation concerning the expulsion of undesirable Russian subjects from Persia (and no doubt the candid and fearless journalist would, in the eyes of both the Sháh and his Russian friends, fall under this category), complied with his request. M. Panoff's place was at once filled by a correspondent sent by the reactionary *Novoe Vremya*, who was received with enthusiasm by the Sháh, because, as he said, correct repofts of the critical state of things prevailing in Persia, and of his own enlightened views, would now be transmitted to Russia.

Of the latest event of all, the occupation of Iṣfahán by the Bakhtiyáris and their adhesion to the Constitutional cause, it is too soon to speak in detail. Briefly our present information is that the Iṣfahánís finally revolted against the exactions of the Sháh's governor and the excesses of his soldiers, and, having been refused a refuge in the British Consulate, took sanctuary in a Mosque, which the governor, imitating his Royal master, proceeded to bombard. Thereupon, in despair, the citizens of Iṣfahán invited the warlike Bakhtiyáris who inhabit the mountains to the south-west of the ancient capital to come to their succour. The invitation was responded to, and the Bakhtiyáris marched in, expelled the soldiers, and deposed the governor, who is reported to have received from the British Consulate that hospitality which was denied to the supporters of the Constitution. The Bakhtiyáris are reported to have behaved admirably, restored order and tranquillity and declared for the Constitution. Like the Tabrízís they utterly repudiate any desire or intention to depose or rebel against the Sháh, but only demand that he shall carry out his promises and restore the Constitution, whereby alone order can be reestablished in Persia. When this is done, they say, they will at once evacuate Iṣfahán and retire to their own highlands.

Such, then, is the situation in Persia. The fate of this ancient and talented people trembles in the balance. Should the "rumours which have prevailed in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in that country" be as

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"baseless" as the British representative in Ṭihrán, speaking on the authority of Sir Edward Grey and M. Isvolsky, asserted in his memorable communication of September 5, 1907, then Persia and her friends need not greatly fear, for in the end, and probably sooner rather than later, the Constitutional Party must almost certainly triumph. And this is all she asks: not to be "aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States," but to be left alone to work out her own salvation. God grant that her modest prayer may be heard, and that we who have written and spoken against the Anglo-Russian Agreement may one day behold a strong, free, united, well-governed, self-respecting and independent Persia, developing her resources, discharging her debts, contributing once more to the intellectual and artistic wealth of the world, and opening her doors to all legitimate commercial enterprise, and, beholding this, may confess that our suspicions were baseless, and live to bless what we have banned.

I speak not only in the interests of Persia, but in the interest of the continuance of friendly relations between England and Russia. The old mistrust of Russia, which was so strong in this country from Crimean days until the end of the last century and even later, is, perhaps, asleep, but it is not dead. Should Russia, under whatever pretext, occupy Persian territory, or consolidate her control over the Persian Court and make the Sháh virtually if not nominally her vassal, those suspicions will most certainly revive. These *ententes* are not everlasting: nay, they are very fragile, and, as Sa'dí well says, "Do not give so much power to a friend that if he becomes an enemy he can prevail against you." Whoever controls the policy of an autocrat, controls all his territories; and, for all the "spheres of influence" and lines of demarcation, we may one day find Russian influence supreme along the greater part of the Persian shore of the gulf, and Russian soldiers a good many hundred miles nearer the Indian frontier than at present, with a better road for their advance than ever Afghanistan could furnish. Sir Edward Grey has staked his reputation on a daring experiment on Russia's good faith. If his experiment proves successful, he will deserve all the applause which his admirers can lavish upon him. If not, his reputation for statesmanship will not long survive the downfall of Persia.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TRANSLATION OF

"THE FOUR PILLARS OF THE PERSIAN CONSTITUTION."

---

1. THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF AUGUST 5, 1906.

Farmán of the late Sháh, Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh the Great (may God make luminous his Proof!), dated 14 *Jumáda ii,* A.H. 1324 (= *August* 5, A.D. 1906).

To the Right Honourable His Excellency the Prime Minister.

WHEREAS God Most High (glorious is His State!) hath entrusted to Our hands the direction of the progress and prosperity of the well-protected realms of Persia, and hath constituted Our Royal Personage the Guardian of the Rights of all the people of Persia and of all our loyal subjects—

THEREFORE on this occasion, our Royal and Imperial judgement has decided, for the peace and tranquillity of all the people of Persia, and for the strengthening and consolidation of the foundations of the State, that such reforms as are this day required in the different departments of the State and of the Empire shall be effected; and we do enact that an Assembly of delegates elected by the Princes, the Doctors of Divinity (*'ulamá*), the Qájár family, the nobles and notables, the land-owners, the merchants and the guilds shall be formed and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

constituted, by election of the classes above mentioned, in the capital Ṭihrán; which Assembly shall carry out the requisite deliberations and investigations on all necessary subjects connected with important affairs of the State and Empire and the public interests; and shall render the necessary help and assistance to our Cabinet of Ministers in such reforms as are designed to promote the happiness and well-being of Persia; and shall, with complete confidence and security, through the instrumentality of the first Lord of the State, submit [their proposals to Us], so that these, having been duly ratified by us, may be carried into effect. It is evident that, in accordance with this August Rescript, you will arrange and prepare a code of regulations and provisions governing this Assembly, and likewise the ways and means necessary to its formation, so that, by the help of God Most High this Assembly may be inaugurated and may take in hand the necessary reforms.

We likewise enact that you should publish and proclaim the text of this August Rescript, so that all the people of Persia, being duly informed of our good intentions, all of which regard the progress of the Government and People of Persia, may, with tranquil minds, engage in prayer for Us.

Given [under our hand] in the Ṣáḥib-Qirániyya Palace on the fourteenth of Jumáda the Second in the eleventh year of Our Reign (= August 5, 1906).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2. THE ELECTORAL LAW OF SEPTEMBER 9, 1906.

Regulations for the Elections to the National Assembly, dated Monday, Rajab 20, A.H. 1324 (= *Sept.* 9, A.D. 1906).

The Regulations for the Elections to the National Consultative Assembly [to be convened] in accordance with the August Rescript of His Imperial Majesty [Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh], may God immortalize his reign, issued on the 14th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1324 (= August 5, A.D. 1906) are as follows.

FIRST SECTION.

Rules governing the Elections.

ART. 1. The electors of the nation in the well-protected realms of Persia in the Provinces and Departments shall be of the following classes: (i) Princes and the Qájár tribe: (ii) Doctors of Divinity and Students: (iii) Nobles and Notables: (iv) Merchants: (v) Landed proprietors and peasants: (vi) Trade-guilds.

Note 1. The tribes in each province are reckoned as forming part of the inhabitants of that province, and have the right to elect subject to the established conditions.

Note 2. By 'landed proprietor' is meant the owner of an estate, and by 'peasant' the tiller of the soil.

ART. 2. The electors shall possess the following qualifications. (i) their age must not fall short of 25 years: (ii) they must be Persian subjects: (iii) they must be known in the locality: (iv) the landed proprietors and peasants amongst them must possess property of a value of at least one thousand

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

túmáns (=about £200): (v) the merchants amongst them must have a definite office and business: (vi) the members of trade-guilds amongst them must belong to a recognized guild, must be engaged in a definite craft or trade, and must be in possession of a shop of which the rent corresponds with the average rents of the locality.

ART. 3. The persons who are entirely deprived of electoral rights are as follows: (i) women; (ii) persons not within years of discretion, and those who stand in need of a legal guardian: (iii) foreigners: (iv) persons whose age falls short of twenty-five years: (v) persons notorious for mischievous opinions: (vi) bankrupts who have failed to prove that they were not culpable: (vii) murderers, thieves, criminals, and persons who have undergone punishment according to the Islamic Law, as well as persons suspected of murder or theft, and the like, who have not legally exculpated themselves: (viii) persons actually serving in the land or sea forces.

The persons who are conditionally deprived of electoral rights are as follows: (i) governors, and assistant governors, within the area of their governments: (ii) those employed in the military or police within the area of their appointments.

ART. 4. Those elected must possess the following qualifications: (i) they must know Persian: (ii) they must be able to read and write Persian: (iii) they must be Persian subjects of Persian extraction: (iv) they must be locally known: (v) they must not be in government employment: (vi) their age must be not less than thirty or more than seventy: (vii) they must have some insight into affairs of State.

ART. 5. Those persons who are debarred from being elected are: (i) women: (ii) foreign subjects: (iii) those who are actually serving in the land or sea forces: (iv) fraudulent bankrupts: (v) persons who have been guilty of murder or theft; criminals; persons who have undergone punishment conformably with the Islamic Law; and persons suspected of murder, theft and the like, who have not legally exculpated themselves: (vi) those whose age falls short of thirty: (vii) those who are notorious for evil doctrine, or who live in open sin.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 6. The number of persons elected by the people in the different parts of Persia shall correspond with the total number of the inhabitants of that locality. In each province (*ayálat*) six or twelve persons shall be elected in accordance with the following table, save in the case of Ṭihrán, when the number of those elected shall be as follows: (i) Princes and members of the Qájár family, 4: (ii) doctors of Divinity and students, 4: (iii) merchants, 10: (iv) land-owners and peasants, 10: (v) trade-guilds, 32 in all, one from each guild.

In other provinces and departments the numbers shall be as follows: (i) Ázarbáyján, 12: (ii) Khurásán, Sístán, Turbat, Turshíz, Qúchán, Bujnúrd, Sháhrúd and Bisṭám, 12: (iii) Gílán and Ṭálish, 6: (iv) Mázandarán, Tunukábun, Astarábád, Fírúzkúh and Damáwand, 6: (v) Khamsa, Qazwín, Simnán and Dámghán, 6: (vi) Kirmán and Balúchistán, 6: (vii) Fárs and the Persian Gulf Ports, 12: (viii) 'Arabistán, Luristán and Burújird, 6: (ix) Kirmánsháhán and Garrús, 6: (x) Kurdistán and Hamadán, 6: (xi) Iṣfahán, Yazd, Káshán, Qum and Sáwa, 12: (xii) 'Iráq, Malá'ir, Túy Siṙkán, Niháwand, Kamra, Gulpáyagán and Khwánsár, 6.

ART. 7. Each elector has one vote and can only vote in one class.

ART. 8. The number of those elected to the National Consultative Assembly throughout the whole well-protected realms of Persia shall not exceed two hundred. In the individual towns of each province each class shall assemble separately, elect one representative, and send him to the chief town of that province. The delegates so elected must reside in the town for which they are elected, or in the environs of that town. Three delegates thus elected in the individual towns of the provinces shall assemble in the chief town of the province, and shall elect members for the National Consultative Assembly according to the number specified in the above table for each province, so that they may present themselves to the National Consultative Assembly, and, during the period of their appointment, may discharge their

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

duty and function, which is to guard the rights of the Government and the Nation.

The electors are not absolutely compelled to elect [a deputy] out of their own class or guild.

ART. 9. In every place where elections are carried out, a Council (*anjuman*) shall be formed of well-known local representatives of the six classes of electors to supervise the elections. This Council shall be under the temporary supervision of the Governor or Deputy-Governor of that place. In this way two Councils shall be formed, one local and one provincial, the former in each of the individual towns in the province, the latter in the chief town of the province.

ART. 10. Complaints in connection with the elections shall not interfere with the carrying out of the elections; that is to say, the Councils mentioned above in Art. 9 shall investigate such complaints without suspending the elections.

ART. 11. Should anyone complain of the local Council, he shall refer his complaint to the provincial Council, and if his application be without effect, it shall be referred to the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 12. If any Member of the National Consultative Assembly should resign or die, and if more than six months intervene before the next [general] elections, the Members of the Assembly shall elect [in his place] one from his province.

ART. 13. The local and provincial Councils shall send the names of the electors and the elected of each department to the Record Office (*daftar-khána*) of the National Consultative Assembly, where their names shall be arranged in alphabetical order, and shall be printed and published for the information of the public. So likewise, after the conclusion of the elections, the local Council shall, within the space of one week, communicate the result of the election to the provincial Council.

ART. 14. Those elected in the individual towns of the province must be provided with a certificate from the local Council; and in like manner those elected in the chief towns

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the provinces must be provided with a certificate from the provincial Council, which they must produce in the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 15. The election of the persons designated shall be by a majority of votes.

ART. 16. After the election of the Members of the National Consultative Assembly, the names of those elected shall be recorded in the Registry of the Assembly, and shall be announced in the newspapers.

ART. 17. The National Assembly of Electors shall be established in all towns where there is a resident Governor, which are divided into two categories. The local Governor, having regard to local requirements, is empowered to fix the place of the Assembly of Electors.

ART. 18. The time and place of the election must be made known to all the people one month beforehand by the local government, by means of printed leaflets and other suitable channels of advertisement.

ART. 19. Those elected to represent the Capital and the various provinces shall proceed to Ṭihrán as quickly as possible. Since those elected in the provinces must be elected in accordance with the Regulations, and since consequently some considerable time will necessarily elapse before they can present themselves, therefore the representatives of Ṭihrán shall be elected, and the Assembly constituted immediately, so that it may proceed to discharge its functions until the provincial representatives shall present themselves, nor shall the delay in the arrival of these latter cause the Assembly to be inactive.

ART. 20. The living expenses and annual allowance of the Members of the National Consultative Assembly depends on the determination and sanction of the Assembly itself.

ART. 21. The period for which the National Representatives are appointed shall be two years, after which period fresh elections shall take place throughout the whole of Persia.

ART. 22. Complaints regarding the Assembly and its Members respecting the carrying out of the Elections, *etc.*, must,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in so far as they refer to the Assembly, be submitted in writing to the President of the Assembly, so that the subject of complaint may be investigated in the National Consultative Assembly and judgement thereon delivered.

ART. 23. No Member of the Assembly can be arrested or detained on any pretext without the permission of the Assembly, unless he shall publicly commit some crime or misdemeanour.

All written or spoken statements of Members of the Assembly on the affairs of the Government and the Nation shall be free, except in cases where such writings or statements of any Member shall be contrary to the public good, and, according to the enactments of the Most Luminous Law [of Islám] shall deserve punishment. In such cases, by permission of the Assembly, persons of this description shall be brought before the Court of Cassation.

ART. 24. Government officials and employés of government offices who are elected in a representative capacity as members of the Assembly shall quit their previous service, and while employed in this capacity shall have no right to intervene or concern themselves in their former office or in any other [similar] service, otherwise their representative function and membership shall be null and void.

SECOND SECTION.

The conduct of the Election and registration of votes, and the conditions thereof.

ART. 25. The election of Members of the National Consultative Assembly in the Capital, and in the towns of large, moderate or small size, will take place in the presence of the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, under the supervision of the Council (*anjuman*) mentioned in Art. 9.

ART. 26. Election shall be by votes, and by absolute or relative majority. In case of an equality of votes, the determination of the elected [candidate] shall be effected by a [second] voting.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 27. The Polling day for the Election of Members to the Assembly and the recording of votes shall, in whatever year it takes place, be on a Friday[1], with due observance of the following arrangements.

First, the voting shall take place in the presence of the Governor, the local Council and the electors who are present.

Secondly, for the organization of the electoral court the Councils (*anjumans*) mentioned in Art. 9 shall be responsible.

Thirdly, the voting-paper shall be of white paper having no sign.

Fourthly, each of the voters shall inscribe his vote on this Voting-paper outside [*i.e.* before he enters] the electoral court, and shall give it, closed up, to one of the members of the above-mentioned Council who shall be designated [for that purpose], who, in the presence of all, shall throw it into the ballot-box.

Fifthly, one of the members of the Council (*anjuman*) mentioned in Art. 9 shall compare the names of those voting with a list furnished to him.

ART. 28. Before the votes are taken, one of the Members of the Council shall lock the ballot-box, which shall be sealed by two others, while another Member of the Council shall take charge of the key.

ART. 29. After the voting has been concluded, the lid of the box shall be opened, the voting-papers shall be counted in the presence of all, and the majority and minority shall be verified by the list [of persons entitled to vote], while several of those present shall, under the supervision of the Council, and in the presence of all, set themselves to work out the result of the voting.

ART. 30. Voting-papers on which nothing is written, or which bear illegible inscriptions, or which fail to specify clearly the name of the Candidate voted for, or on which the voter has inscribed his own name, shall not be taken into account, but shall be noted in the minutes. Thereafter the result of the

[1] Friday is chosen because in Persia, as in other Muhammadan countries, it is a general holiday.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

election shall be proclaimed in a loud voice, and shall be declared by the president of the electoral court.

ART. 31. Should the number of Members elected by the people exceed the number fixed upon, those persons will be regarded as elected who possess seniority of age. Otherwise, should the occasion allow, the votes will be recounted. If, after the votes have been recounted, it appears that the number of voting-papers exceeds the number of electors, the election shall be regarded as null and void, and a fresh election shall be held.

ART. 32. The Members elected for Ṭihrán shall choose from amongst themselves one President, two Vice-presidents, and four Secretaries, and the Assembly shall then be opened under the Honorary Presidency of His Imperial and Most Sacred Majesty (may God immortalize his reign!).

ART. 33. The President, the two Vice-presidents, and the Secretaries of the National Consultative Assembly shall, with the approval of the Members of the Assembly, be changed once a year. In renewing the election of the persons above-mentioned, it is understood that regard shall always be paid to the majority of votes of the Assembly.

Dated the 19th of the month of Rajab, A.H. 1324
(= *Sept.* 8, A.D. 1906).

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Forgiving.*

"To the Right Honourable the *Ṣadr-i-A'ẓam* (*Prime Minister*).

"These Regulations are correct.

Rajab 20, A.H. 1324 (= *Sept.* 9, A.D. 1906).

[Place of the Royal Signature.]

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

3. THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF DECEMBER 30, 1906.

The Fundamental Law of Persia, promulgated in the reign of the late Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh, and ratified by him on Dhu'l-Qa'da 14, A.H. 1324 (= *December* 30, 1906).

In the name of God the Merciful, the Forgiving.

WHEREAS in accordance with the Imperial Farmán dated the fourteenth of Jumáda the Second, A.H. 1324 (= August 5, 1906), a command was issued for the establishment of a National Council, to promote the progress and happiness of our Kingdom and people, strengthen the foundations of our Government, and give effect to the enactments of the Sacred Law of His Holiness the Prophet,

AND WHEREAS, by virtue of the fundamental principle [therein laid down], we have conferred on each individual of the people of our realm, for the amending and superintending of the affairs of the commonwealth, according to their degrees, the right to participate in choosing and appointing the Members of this Assembly by popular election,

THEREFORE the National Consultative Assembly is now opened, in accordance with our Sacred Command; and we do define as follows the principles and articles of the Fundamental Law regulating the aforesaid National Council, which Law comprises the duties and functions of the above-mentioned Assembly, its limitations, and its relations with the various departments of the State.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On the Constitution of the Assembly.

ART. 1. The National Consultative Assembly is founded and established in conformity with the Farmán, founded on justice, dated the fourteenth of the Second Jumáda, A.H. 1324 (= Aug. 5, 1906).

ART. 2. The National Consultative Assembly represents the whole of the people of Persia, who [thus] participate in the economic and political affairs of the country.

ART. 3. The National Consultative Assembly shall consist of the Members elected in Ṭihrán and the provinces, and shall be held in Ṭihrán.

ART. 4. The number of elected Members has been fixed, in accordance with the Electoral Law separately promulgated, at one hundred and sixty-two, but in case of necessity the number above mentioned may be increased to two hundred.

ART. 5. The Members shall be elected for two whole years. This period shall begin on the day when all the representatives from the provinces shall have arrived in Ṭihrán. On the conclusion of this period of two years, fresh representatives shall be elected, but the people shall have the option of re-electing any of their former representatives whom they wish and with whom they are satisfied.

ART. 6. The Members elected to represent Ṭihrán shall, so soon as they meet, have the right to constitute the Assembly, and to begin their discussions and deliberations. During the period preceding the arrival of the provincial delegates, their decisions shall depend for their validity and due execution on the majority [by which they are carried].

ART. 7. On the opening of the debates, at least two thirds of the Members of the Assembly shall be present, and, when the vote is taken, at least three quarters. A majority shall be obtained only when more than half of those present in the Assembly record their votes.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 8. The periods of session and recess of the National Consultative Assembly shall be determined by the Assembly itself, in accordance with such internal regulations as itself shall formulate. After the summer recess, the Assembly must continue open and in session from the fourteenth day of the Balance, which corresponds with the festival of the opening of the First Assembly.

ART. 9. The National Consultative Assembly can sit on occasions of extraordinary public holidays.

ART. 10. On the opening of the Assembly, an Address shall be presented by it to His Imperial Majesty, and it shall afterwards have the honour of receiving an answer from that Royal and August quarter.

ART. 11. Members of the Assembly, on taking their seats, shall take and subscribe to the following form of oath:

(*Form of the Oath.*)

"We the undersigned take God to witness, and swear on the Qur'án, that, so long as the rights of the Assembly and its Members are observed and respected, in conformity with these Regulations, we will, so far as possible, discharge, with the utmost truth, uprightness, diligence and endeavour, the duties confided to us; that we will act loyally and truthfully towards our just and honoured Sovereign, commit no treason in respect of either the foundations of the Throne or the Rights of the People, and will consider only the advantage and well-being of Persia."

ART. 12. No one, on any pretext or excuse, shall have any right, without the knowledge and approval of the National Consultative Assembly, to molest its Members. Even in case of the Members committing some crime or misdemeanour, and being arrested *flagrante delicto*, any punishment inflicted upon him must be with the cognizance of the Assembly.

ART. 13. The deliberations of the National Consultative Assembly, in order that effect may be given to their results, must be public. According to the Internal Regulations of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Assembly, journalists and spectators have the right to be present and listen, but not to speak. Newspapers may print and publish all the debates of the Assembly, provided they do not change or pervert their meaning, so that the public may be informed of the subjects of discussion and the detail of what takes place. Everyone, subject to his paying due regard to the public good, may discuss them in the public Press, so that no matter may be veiled or hidden from any person. Therefore all newspapers, provided that their contents be not injurious to any one of the fundamental principles of the Government or the Nation, are authorized and allowed to print and publish all matters advantageous to the public interest, such as the debates of the Assembly, and the opinions of the people on these debates. But if anyone, actuated by interested motives, shall print in the newspapers or in other publications anything contrary to what has been mentioned, or inspired by slander or calumny, he will render himself liable to cross-examination, judgement and punishment, according to law.

ART. 14. The National Consultative Assembly shall organize and arrange, in accordance with separate and distinct Regulations called 'the Internal Code of Rules,' its own affairs, such as the election of a President, Vice-presidents, Secretaries, and other officers, the arrangements of the debates and divisions, etc.

On the Duties of the Assembly and its Limitations and Rights.

ART. 15. The National Consultative Assembly has the right in all questions to propose any measure which it regards as conducive to the well-being of the Government and the People, after due discussion and deliberation thereof in all sincerity and truth; and, having due regard to the majority of votes, to submit such measure, in complete confidence and security, after it has received the approval of the Senate, by means of the First Minister of the State, so that it may receive the Royal Approval and be duly carried out.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 16. All laws necessary to strengthen the foundations of the State and Throne and to set in order the affairs of the Realm and the establishment of the Ministries, must be submitted for approval to the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 17. The National Consultative Assembly shall, when occasion arises, bring forward such measures as shall be necessary for the creation, modification, completion or abrogation of any Law, and, subject to the approval of the Senate, shall submit it for the Royal Sanction, so that due effect may thereafter be given to it.

ART. 18. The regulation of all financial matters, the construction and regulation of the Budget, all changes in fiscal arrangements, the acceptance or rejection of all incidental and subordinate expenditure, as also the new Inspectorships [of Finance] which will be founded by the Government, shall be subject to the approval of the Assembly.

ART. 19. The Assembly has the right, after the Senate has given its approval, to demand from the Ministers of State that effect shall be given to the measures thus approved for the reform of the finances and the facilitation of co-operation between the different departments of the Government by division of the departments and provinces of Persia and their governments.

ART. 20. The Budget of each Ministry shall be concluded during the latter half of each year for the following year, and shall be ready fifteen days before the Festival of the Naw-rúz[1].

ART. 21. Should it at any time be necessary to introduce, modify or abrogate any Fundamental Law regulating the [functions of the] Ministries, such change shall be made only with the approval of the Assembly, irrespective of whether the necessity for such action has been declared by the Assembly or enunciated by the responsible Ministers.

ART. 22. Any proposal to transfer or sell any portion of the [National] resources, or of the control exercised by the Government or the Throne, or to effect any change in the

[1] The *Nawrúz*, or Persian New Year's Day, falls about March 21 in each year.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

boundaries and frontiers of the Kingdom, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 23. Without the approval of the National Council, no concession for the formation of any public Company of any sort shall, under any plea soever, be granted by the State.

ART. 24. The conclusion of treaties and covenants, the granting of commercial, industrial, agricultural and other concessions, irrespective of whether they be to Persian or foreign subjects, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, with the exception of treaties which, for reasons of State and the public advantage, must be kept secret.

ART. 25. State loans, under whatever title, whether internal or external, must be contracted only with the cognizance and approval of the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 26. The construction of railroads or *chaussées*, whether at the expense of the Government, or of any Company, whether Persian or foreign, depends on the approval of the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 27. Wherever the Assembly observes any defect in the laws, or any neglect in giving effect to them, it shall notify the same to the Minister responsible for that department, who shall furnish all necessary explanations.

ART. 28. Should any Minister, acting under misapprehension, issue on the Royal Authority, whether in writing or by word of mouth, orders conflicting with one of the laws which have been enacted and have received the Royal Sanction, and shall admit his negligence and lack of attention, he shall, according to the Law, be personally responsible to His Imperial and Most Sacred Majesty.

ART. 29. Should a Minister fail to give a satisfactory account of any affair conformably to the laws which have received the Royal Sanction, and should it appear in his case that a violation of such law has been committed, or that he has

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

transgressed the limits imposed [on him], the Assembly shall demand his dismissal from the Royal Presence, and should his treason be clearly established in the Court of Cassation, he shall not again be employed in the service of the State.

ART. 30. The Assembly shall, at any time when it considers it necessary, have the right to make direct representations to the Royal Presence by means of a Committee consisting of the President and six of its Members chosen by the Six Classes. This Committee must ask permission for, and the appointment of a time for approaching the Royal Presence through the Master of the Ceremonies (*Wazír-i-Darbár*).

ART. 31. Ministers have the right to be present at the Sessions of the National Consultative Assembly, to sit in the places appointed for them, and to listen to the debates of the Assembly. If they consider it necessary, they may ask the President of the Assembly for permission to speak, and may give such explanations as may be necessary for purposes of discussion and investigation.

On the representation of affairs to the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 32. Any individual may submit in writing to the Petition Department of the Archives of the Assembly a statement of his own case, or of any criticisms or complaints. If the matter concerns the Assembly itself, it will give him a satisfactory answer; but if it concerns one of the Ministries, it will refer it to that Ministry, which will enquire into the matter and return a sufficient answer.

ART. 33. New laws which are needed shall be drafted and revised in the Ministries which are respectively responsible, and shall then be laid before the Assembly by the responsible Ministers, or by the Prime Minister. After being approved by the Assembly, and ratified by the Royal Signature, they shall be duly put into force.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 34. The President of the Assembly can, in case of necessity, either personally, or on the demand of ten Members of the Assembly, hold a private conference, comprised of a selected number of Members of the Assembly, with any Minister, from which private meeting newspaper correspondents and spectators shall be excluded, and at which other Members of the Assembly shall not have the right to be present. The result of the deliberations of such secret conference shall, however, only be confirmed when it has been deliberated in the said conference in presence of three quarters of those selected [to serve on it], and carried by a majority of votes. Should the proposition [in question] not be accepted in the private conference, it shall not be brought forward in the Assembly, but shall be passed over in silence.

ART. 35. If such private conference shall have been held at the demand of the President of the Assembly, he has the right to inform the public of so much of the deliberations as he shall deem expedient; but if the private conference has been held at the demand of a Minister, the disclosure of the deliberations depends on the permission of that Minister.

ART. 36. Any Minister can withdraw any matter which he has proposed to the Assembly at any point in the discussion, unless his statement has been made at the instance of the Assembly, in which case the withdrawal of the matter depends on the consent of the Assembly.

ART. 37. If a measure introduced by any Minister is not accepted by the Assembly, it shall be returned supplemented by the observations of the Assembly; and the responsible Minister, after rejecting or accepting the criticisms of the Assembly, can propose the aforesaid measure a second time to the Assembly.

ART. 38. The Members of the National Consultative Assembly must clearly and plainly signify their rejection or acceptance of measures, and no one has the right to persuade or threaten them in recording their votes. The signification by the Members of the Assembly of such rejection or acceptance

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

must be effected in such manner that newspaper correspondents and spectators also may perceive it, that is to say their intention must be signified by some outward sign, such as [the employment of] blue and white voting-papers, or the like.

The proposal of measures on the part of the Assembly.

ART. 39. Whenever any measure is proposed on the part of one of the Members of the Assembly, it can only be discussed when at least fifteen Members of the Assembly shall approve the discussion of that measure. In such case the proposal in question shall be forwarded in writing to the President of the Assembly, who has the right to arrange that it shall be subjected to a preliminary investigation in a Committee of Enquiry.

ART. 40. On the occasion of the discussion and investigation of the measure mentioned in Art. 39, whether in the Assembly or in the Committee of Enquiry, notice shall be given by the Assembly to the responsible Minister, if any, concerned in the measure, that if possible he himself, or, if not, his Assistant Minister, shall be present in the Assembly, so that the debate may take place in the presence of one or other of them.

The draft of the [proposed] measure, with its additions, must be sent from ten days to a month before the time (with the exception of matters added at the last moment) to the responsible Minister; and so likewise the day of its discussion must be determined beforehand. After the measure has been discussed in the presence of the responsible Minister, and in case it should, by a majority of votes, receive the approval of the Assembly, it shall be officially transmitted in writing to the responsible Minister, so that he may take the necessary steps [to put it in force].

ART. 41. If the responsible Minister cannot, for any reason, agree with the Assembly about a measure proposed by it, he must offer his excuses to it and give it satisfaction.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 42. Should the National Consultative Assembly demand explanations on any matter from the responsible Minister, the Minister in question must give an answer, which answer must not be postponed unnecessarily or without plausible reason, save in the case of secret measures, the secrecy of which for some definite period is to the advantage of the State and the People. In such cases, on the lapse of the definite period the responsible Minister is bound to disclose this measure in the Assembly.

On the Conditions regulating the formation of the Senate.

ART. 43. There shall be constituted another Assembly, entitled the Senate, consisting of sixty Members, the sessions of which, after its constitution, shall be complementary to the sessions of the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 44. The Regulations of the Senate must be approved by the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 45. The Members of this Assembly shall be chosen from amongst the well-informed, discerning, pious and respected persons of the Realm. Thirty of them shall be nominated on the part of His Imperial Majesty (fifteen of the people of Ṭihrán, and fifteen of the people of the Provinces), and thirty by the Nation (fifteen elected by the people of Ṭihrán, and fifteen by the people of the Provinces).

ART. 46. After the constitution of the Senate, all proposals must be approved by both Assemblies. If those proposals shall have been originated in the Senate, or by the Cabinet of Ministers, they must first be amended and corrected in the Senate and accepted by a majority of votes, and must then be approved by the National Consultative Assembly. But proposals brought forward by the National Consultative Assembly must, on the contrary, go from this Assembly to the Senate, except in the case of financial matters, which belong exclusively to the National Consultative Assembly. The decision of the Assembly, in respect to the above-mentioned

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

proposals, shall be made known to the Senate, so that it in turn may communicate its observations to the National Assembly, but the latter, after due discussion, is free to accept or reject these observations of the Senate.

ART. 47. So long as the Senate has not been convoked, proposals shall, after being approved by the National Consultative Assembly, receive the Royal assent, and shall then have the force of Law.

ART. 48. If any proposal, after undergoing criticism and revision in the Senate, be referred by a Minister to the National Consultative Assembly, and be not accepted, such disputed proposal shall, in case of its being of importance, be reconsidered by a third Assembly composed of Members of the Senate and Members of the National Consultative Assembly elected in equal moieties by Members of the two Assemblies. The decision of this [third] Assembly shall be read out in the National Council. If it be then accepted, well and good. If not, a full account of the matter shall be submitted to the Royal Presence, and should the Royal judgement support the view of the National Consultative Assembly, it shall become effective; but if not, orders will be issued for a fresh discussion and investigation. If again no agreement of opinion results, and the Senate, by a majority of two thirds, approves the dissolution of the National Consultative Assembly, this approval being separately affirmed by the Cabinet of Ministers, then the Imperial Command will be issued for the dissolution of the National Consultative Assembly, and at the same time orders shall be given for the holding of fresh elections, the people, however, having the right to reelect their former representatives.

ART. 49. The new representatives of Ṭihrán must present themselves within the space of one month, and the representatives of the provinces within the space of three months. When the representatives of the Capital are present, the Assembly shall be opened, and shall begin its labours, but they shall not discuss disputed proposals until the provincial representatives shall arrive. If, after the arrival of all its

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Members, the new Assembly shall by a clear majority confirm the first decision, His Most Sacred and Imperial Majesty shall approve that decision of the National Consultative Assembly, and shall order it to be carried into effect.

ART. 50. In each electoral period, which consists of two years, orders for the renewal of representatives shall not be given more than once.

ART. 51. It is agreed that the kings of our successors and posterity shall regard as a duty of their sovereign state and an obligation incumbent upon them the maintenance of these laws and principles, which we have established and put into force for the strengthening of the edifice of the State, the consolidation of the foundations of the Throne, the superintendence of the machinery of Justice, and the tranquillity of the Nation.

"Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1324"
(= December 30, 1906).

"These Fundamental Laws of the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate, containing fifty-one Articles, are correct.

"Dhu'l-Qa'da 14, A.H. 1324"
(= December 30, 1906).

[Underneath the concluding words is the signature of the late Sháh, Muẓaffaru'd-Dín, and on the back of the page are the seals of the Crown Prince or *Walí-'ahd* (the present Sháh, Muḥammad 'Alí), and of the late Mushíru'd-Dawla.]

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

4. THE SUPPLEMENTARY FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF OCTOBER 7, 1907.

The original Fundamental Law, containing 51 *Articles, was promulgated on Dhu'l-Qa'da* 14, A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 30, 1906) *by the late Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh. The following supplementary laws were ratified by the present Sháh, Muḥammad 'Ali, on Sha'bán* 29, A.H. 1325 (= *Oct.* 7, 1907).

In the Name of God the Merciful the Forgiving.

The Articles added to complete the Fundamental Laws of the Persian Constitution ratified by the late Sháhinsháh of blessed memory, Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Sháh Qájár (may God illuminate his resting-place!) are as follows.

General Dispositions.

ART. 1. The official religion of Persia is Islám, according to the orthodox Ja'farí doctrine of the *Ithna 'Ashariyya* (Church of the Twelve Imáms), which faith[1] the Sháh of Persia must profess and promote.

ART. 2. At no time must any legal enactment of the Sacred National Consultative Assembly, established by the favour and assistance of His Holiness the Imám of the Age

[1] The Shi'ite form of Islám includes the "Church of the Twelve" (*Ithná 'ashariyya*) and the "Church of the Seven" (*Sab'iyya*). Both agree as to the sequence of their Imáms down to the sixth, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq (from whom the epithet "*Ja'farí*" is derived), but diverge from this point. Both are regarded as heterodox by the Sunnís, but the "Church of the Twelve" is orthodox in Persia.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(may God hasten his glad Advent!)[1], the favour of His Majesty the Sháhinsháh of Islám (may God immortalize his reign!), the care of the Proofs of Islám[2] (may God multiply the like of them!), and the whole people of the Persian nation, be at variance with the sacred rules of Islám or the laws established by His Holiness the Best of Mankind[3] (on whom and on whose household be the Blessings of God and His Peace!).

It is hereby declared that it is for the learned doctors of theology (the *'ulamá*)—may God prolong the blessing of their existence!—to determine whether such laws as may be proposed are or are not conformable to the rules of Islám; and it is therefore officially enacted that there shall at all times exist a committee composed of not less than five *mujtahids* or other devout theologians, cognizant also of the requirements of the age, [which committee shall be elected] in this manner. The *'ulamá* and Proofs of Islám shall present to the National Consultative Assembly the names of Twenty of the *'ulamá* possessing the attributes mentioned above; and the Members of the National Consultative Assembly shall, either by unanimous acclamation, or by vote, designate five or more of these, according to the exigencies of the time, and recognize these as Members, so that they may carefully discuss and consider all matters proposed in the Assembly, and reject and repudiate, wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the Sacred Laws of Islám, so that it shall not obtain the title of legality. In such matters the decision of this ecclesiastical committee shall be followed and obeyed, and this article shall continue unchanged until the appearance of His Holiness the Proof of the Age (may God hasten his glad Advent!)[4].

ART. 3. The frontiers, provinces, departments and districts of the Persian Empire cannot be altered save in accordance with the Law.

[1] *I.e.* the Twelfth Imám, or Imám Mahdí, who is believed to have disappeared in the year A.H. 260 (= A.D. 873–4) and who is expected to return at the end of time, "to fill the earth with justice after it has been filled with iniquity."

[2] *I.e.* the *'ulamá*, or doctors of theology, especially the *Mujtahids*.

[3] *I.e.* the Prophet Muḥammad.

[4] *I.e.* until the Imám Mahdí shall return and establish the reign of perfect Justice.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 4. The capital of Persia is Ṭihrán.

ART. 5. The official colours of the Persian flag are green, white and red, with the emblem of the Lion and the Sun.

ART. 6. The lives and property of foreign subjects residing on Persian soil are guaranteed and protected, save in such contingencies as the laws of the land shall except.

ART. 7. The principles of the Constitution cannot be suspended either wholly or in part.

Rights of the Persian Nation.

ART. 8. The people of the Persian Empire are to enjoy equal rights before the Law.

ART. 9. All individuals are protected and safeguarded in respect to their lives, property, homes, and honour, from every kind of interference, and none shall molest them save in such case and in such way as the laws of the land shall determine.

ART. 10. No one can be summarily arrested, save *flagrante delicto* in the commission of some crime or misdemeanour, except on the written authority of the President of the Tribunal of Justice, given in conformity with the Law. Even in such case the accused must immediately, or at latest in the course of the next twenty-four hours, be informed and notified of the nature of his offence.

ART. 11. No one can be forcibly removed from the tribunal which is entitled to give judgement on his case to another tribunal.

ART. 12. No punishment can be decreed or executed save in conformity with the Law.

ART. 13. Every person's house and dwelling is protected and safeguarded, and no dwelling-place may be entered save in such case and in such way as the Law has decreed.

ART. 14. No Persian can be exiled from the country, or prevented from residing in any part thereof, or compelled to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

reside in any specified part thereof, save in such cases as the Law may explicitly determine.

ART. 15. No property shall be removed from the control of its owner save by legal sanction, and then only after its fair value has been determined and paid.

ART. 16. The confiscation of the property or possessions of any person under the title of punishment or retribution is forbidden, save in conformity with the Law.

ART. 17. To deprive owners or possessors of the properties or possessions controlled by them on any pretext whatever is forbidden, save in conformity with the Law.

ART. 18. The acquisition and study of all sciences, arts and crafts is free, save in the case of such as may be forbidden by the ecclesiastical law.

ART. 19. The foundation of schools at the expense of the government and the nation, and compulsory instruction, must be regulated by the Ministry of Sciences and Arts, and all schools and colleges must be under the supreme control and supervision of that Ministry.

ART. 20. All publications, except heretical books and matters hurtful to the perspicuous religion [of Islám] are free, and are exempt from the censorship. If, however, anything should be discovered in them contrary to the Press law, the publisher or writer is liable to punishment according to that law. If the writer be known, and be resident in Persia, then the publisher, printer and distributor shall not be liable to prosecution.

ART. 21. Societies (*anjumans*) and associations (*ijtimá'át*) which are not productive of mischief to Religion or the State, and are not injurious to good order, are free throughout the whole Empire, but members of such associations must not carry arms, and must obey the regulations laid down by the Law on this matter. Assemblies in the public thoroughfares and open spaces must likewise obey the police regulations.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 22. Correspondence passing through the post is safeguarded and exempt from seizure or examination, save in such exceptional cases as the Law lays down.

ART. 23. It is forbidden to disclose or detain telegraphic correspondence without the express permission of the owner, save in such cases as the Law lays down.

ART. 24. Foreign subjects may become naturalized as Persian subjects, but their acceptance or continuance as such, or their deprivation of this status, is in accordance with a separate law.

ART. 25. No special authorization is required to proceed against government officials in respect of shortcomings connected with the discharge of their public functions, save in the case of Ministers, in whose case the special laws on this subject must be observed.

Powers of the Realm.

ART. 26. The powers of the realm are all derived from the people; and the Fundamental Law regulates the employment of those powers.

ART. 27. The powers of the realm are divided into three categories.

First, the legislative power, which is specially concerned with the making or amelioration of laws. This power is derived from His Imperial Majesty, the National Consultative Assembly, and the Senate, of which three sources each has the right to introduce laws, provided that the continuance thereof be dependent on their not being at variance with the standards of the ecclesiastical law, and on its approval by the Members of the two Assemblies, and the Royal ratification. The enacting and approval of laws connected with the revenue and expenditure of the kingdom are, however, specially assigned to the National Consultative Assembly. The explanation and interpretation of the laws are, moreover, amongst the special functions of the above-mentioned Assembly.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Second, the judicial power, by which is meant the determining of rights. This power belongs exclusively to the ecclesiastical tribunals in matters connected with the ecclesiastical law, and to the civil tribunals in matters connected with ordinary law.

Third, the executive power, which appertains to the King, that is to say, the laws and ordinances are carried out by the Ministers and State officials in the august name of His Imperial Majesty in such manner as the Law defines.

ART. 28. The three powers above mentioned shall ever remain distinct and separate from one another.

ART. 29. The special interests of each province, department and district shall be arranged and regulated, in accordance with special laws on this subject, by provincial and departmental councils (*anjumans*).

Rights of Members of the Assembly.

ART. 30. The deputies of the National Consultative Assembly and of the Senate represent the whole nation, and not only the particular classes, provinces, departments or districts which have elected them.

ART. 31. One person cannot at one and the same time enjoy membership of both Assemblies.

ART. 32. As soon as any deputy accepts any lucrative employment in the service of one of the departments of the government, he ceases to be a member of the Assembly, and his re-acceptance as a member of the Assembly depends on his resigning such government appointment, and being re-elected by the people.

ART. 33. Each of the two Assemblies has the right to investigate and examine every affair of state.

ART. 34. The deliberations of the Senate are ineffective when the National Consultative Assembly is not in session.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rights of the Persian Throne.

ART. 35. The sovereignty is a trust confided (as a Divine gift) by the people to the person of the King.

ART. 36. The constitutional monarchy of Persia is vested in the person of His Imperial Majesty Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Alí Sháh Qájár (may God prolong his sovereignty!) and in his heirs, generation after generation.

ART. 37. The succession to the Throne, in case of there being more than one son, passes to the eldest son of the King whose mother is a Princess and of Persian race. In case the King should have no male issue, the eldest male of the Royal Family who is next of kin shall rank next in succession to the Throne. If, however, in the case supposed above, male heirs should subsequently be born to the King, the succession will *de jure* revert to such heir.

ART. 38. In case of the decease of the Sovereign, the Crown Prince can only undertake in person the functions of the Throne provided that he has attained the age of eighteen years. If he has not reached this age, a Regent shall be chosen with the sanction and approval of the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate, until such time as the Crown Prince shall attain this age.

ART. 39. No King can ascend the Throne unless, before his coronation, he appear before the National Consultative Assembly, in presence of the Members of this Assembly and of the Senate, and of the Cabinet of Ministers, and repeat the following oath:

"I take to witness the Almighty and Most High God, on the glorious Word of God, and by all that is most honoured in God's sight, and do hereby swear that I will exert all my efforts to preserve the independence of Persia, safeguard and protect the frontiers of my Kingdom and the rights of my People, observe the Fundamental Laws of the Persian Constitution, rule in accordance with the established laws of Sovereignty, en-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

deavour to promote the Ja'farí doctrine of the Church of the Twelve Imáms, and will in all my deeds and actions consider God Most Glorious as present and watching me. I further ask aid from God, from Whom alone aid is derived, and seek help from the holy spirits of the Saints of Islám to render service to the advancement of Persia."

ART. 40. So in like manner no one who is chosen as Regent can enter upon his functions unless and until he repeats the above oath.

ART. 41. In the event of the King's decease, the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate must of necessity meet, and such meeting must not be postponed later than ten days after the date of the King's decease.

ART. 42. If the mandate of the deputies of either or both of the Assemblies shall have expired during the period of the late King's life, and the new deputies shall not yet have been elected at the time of his decease, the deputies of the late Parliament shall reassemble, and the two Assemblies shall be reconstituted.

ART. 43. The King cannot, without the consent and approval of the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate, undertake the government of any other kingdom.

ART. 44. The person of the King is exempted from responsibility. The Ministers of State are responsible to both Chambers in all matters.

ART. 45. The decrees and rescripts of the King relating to affairs of State can only be carried out when they are countersigned by the responsible Minister, who is also responsible for the authenticity of such decree or rescript.

ART. 46. The appointment and dismissal of Ministers is effected by virtue of the Royal Decree of the King.

ART. 47. The granting of military rank, decorations and other honorary distinctions shall be effected with due regard to the special law referring to the person of the King.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 48. The choice of officials as heads of the various government departments, whether internal or foreign, subject to the approval of the responsible Minister, is the King's right, save in such cases as are specifically excepted by the Law; but the appointment of other officials does not lie with the King, save in such cases as are explicitly provided for by the Law.

ART. 49. The issue of decrees and orders for giving effect to the laws is the King's right, provided that under no circumstances shall he postpone or suspend the carrying out of such laws.

ART. 50. The supreme command of all the forces, military and naval, is vested in the person of the King.

ART. 51. The declaration of war and the conclusion of peace are vested in the King.

ART. 52. The treaties which, conformably to article 24 of the Fundamental Law promulgated on Dhu'l-Qa'da 14, A.H. 1324 (= December 30, 1906), must remain secret, shall be communicated by the King, with the necessary explanations, to the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate after the disappearance of the reasons which necessitated such secrecy, as soon as the public interests and security shall require it.

ART. 53. The secret clauses of a treaty cannot in any case annul the public clauses of the same.

ART. 54. The King can convoke in extraordinary session the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate.

ART. 55. The minting of coin, subject to conformity with the Law, is in the name of the King.

ART. 56. The expenses and disbursements of the Court shall be determined by law.

ART. 57. The Royal prerogatives and powers are only those explicitly mentioned in the present Constitutional Law.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Concerning the Ministers.

ART. 58. No one can attain the rank of Minister unless he be a Musulmán by religion, a Persian by birth, and a Persian subject.

ART. 59. Princes in the first degree, that is to say the sons, brothers and paternal uncles of the reigning King, cannot be chosen as Ministers.

ART. 60. Ministers are responsible to the two Chambers, and must, in case of their presence being required by either Chamber, appear before it, and must observe the limitations of their responsibility in all such matters as are committed to their charge.

ART. 61. Ministers, besides being individually responsible for the affairs specially appertaining to their own Ministry, are also collectively responsible to the two Chambers for one another's actions in affairs of a more general character.

ART. 62. The number of Ministers shall be defined by law, according to the requirements of the time.

ART. 63. The honorary title of Minister is entirely abolished.

ART. 64. Ministers cannot divest themselves of their responsibility by pleading verbal or written orders from the King.

ART. 65. The National Consultative Assembly, or the Senate, can call Ministers to account or bring them to trial.

ART. 66. The Law shall determine the responsibility of Ministers and the punishments to which they are liable.

ART. 67. If the National Consultative Assembly or the Senate shall, by an absolute majority, declare itself dissatisfied with the Cabinet, or with one particular Minister, that Cabinet or Minister shall resign their or his ministerial functions.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 68. Ministers may not accept a salaried office other than their own.

ART. 69. The National Consultative Assembly or the Senate shall declare the delinquencies of Ministers in the presence of the Court of Cassation, and the said Court, all the members of the tribunals comprised in it being present, will pronounce judgement, save in cases when the accusation and prosecution refer to the Minister in his private capacity, and are outside the scope of the functions of government entrusted to him in his ministerial capacity.

(N.B. So long as the Court of Cassation is not established, a Commission chosen from the Members of the two Chambers in equal moieties shall discharge the function of that Court.)

ART. 70. The determination of the delinquencies of Ministers, and of the punishments to which they are liable, in case they incur the suspicion of the National Consultative Assembly or of the Senate, or expose themselves to personal accusations on the part of their opponents in the affairs of their department, will be regulated by a special law.

Powers of the Tribunals of Justice.

ART. 71. The Supreme Ministry of Justice and the judicial tribunals are the places officially destined for the redress of public grievances, while judgement in all matters falling within the scope of the Ecclesiastical Law is vested in just *mujtahids* possessing the necessary qualifications.

ART. 72. Disputes connected with political rights belong to the judicial tribunals, save in such cases as the Law shall except.

ART. 73. The establishment of civil tribunals depends on the authority of the Law, and no one, on any title or pretext, may establish any tribunal contrary to its provisions.

ART. 74. No tribunal can be constituted save by the authority of the Law.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ART. 75. In the whole Kingdom there shall be only one Court of Cassation for civil cases, and that in the capital; and this Court shall not deal with any case of first instance, except in cases in which Ministers are concerned.

ART. 76. All proceedings of tribunals shall be public, save in cases where such publicity would be injurious to public order or contrary to public morality. In such cases, the tribunal must declare the necessity of sitting *clausis foribus.*

ART. 77. In cases of political or press offences, where it is desirable that the proceedings should be private, this must be agreed to by all the members of the tribunal.

ART. 78. The decisions and sentences emanating from the tribunals must be reasoned and supported by proof, and must contain the articles of the Law in accordance with which judgement has been given, and they must be read publicly.

ART. 79. In cases of political and press offences, a jury must be present in the tribunals.

ART. 80. The presidents and members of the judicial tribunals shall be chosen in such manner as the laws of justice determine, and shall be appointed by Royal Decree.

ART. 81. No judge of a judicial tribunal can be temporarily or permanently transferred from his office unless he be brought to judgement and his offence be proved, save in the case of his voluntary resignation.

ART. 82. The functions of a judge of a judicial tribunal cannot be changed save by his own consent.

ART. 83. The appointment of the Public Prosecutor is within the competence of the King, supported by the approval of the ecclesiastical judge.

ART. 84. The appointment of the members of the judicial tribunals shall be determined in accordance with the Law.

ART. 85. The presidents of the judicial tribunals cannot accept salaried posts under government, unless they undertake

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

such service without recompense, always provided that [in this case also] there be no contravention of the Law.

ART. 86. In every provincial capital there shall be established a Court of Appeal for dealing with judicial matters in such wise as is explicitly set forth in the laws concerning the administration of justice.

ART. 87. Military tribunals shall be established throughout the whole Kingdom according to special laws.

ART. 88. Arbitration in cases of dispute as to the limitations of the functions and duties of the different departments of government shall, agreeably to the provisions of the Law, be referred to the Court of Cassation.

ART. 89. The Court of Cassation and other tribunals will only give effect to public, provincial, departmental and municipal orders and bye-laws when these are in conformity with the Law.

Provincial and Departmental Councils (anjumans).

ART. 90. Throughout the whole empire provincial and departmental councils (*anjumans*) shall be established in accordance with special regulations. The fundamental laws regulating such assemblies are as follows.

ART. 91. The members of the provincial and departmental councils shall be elected immediately by the people, according to the regulations governing provincial and departmental councils.

ART. 92. The provincial and departmental councils are free to exercise complete supervision over all reforms connected with the public advantage, always provided that they observe the limitations prescribed by the Law.

ART. 93. An account of the expenditure and income of every kind of the provinces and departments shall be printed and published by the instrumentality of the provincial and departmental councils.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Concerning the Finances.

ART. 94. No tax shall be established save in accordance with the Law.

ART. 95. The Law will specify the cases in which exemption from the payment of taxes can be claimed.

ART. 96. The National Consultative Assembly shall each year by a majority of votes fix and approve the Budget.

ART. 97. In the matter of taxes there shall be no distinction or difference amongst the individuals who compose the nation.

ART. 98. Reduction of or exemption from taxes is regulated by a special law.

ART. 99. Save in such cases as are explicitly excepted by Law, nothing can on any pretext be demanded from the people save under the categories of state, provincial, departmental and municipal taxes.

ART. 100. No order for the payment of any allowance or gratuity can be made on the Treasury save in accordance with the Law.

ART. 101. The National Consultative Assembly shall appoint the members of the Financial Commission for such period as may be determined by the Law.

ART. 102. The Financial Commission is appointed to inspect and analyse the accounts of the Department of Finance and to liquidate the accounts of all debtors and creditors of the Treasury. It is especially deputed to see that no item of expenditure fixed in the Budget exceeds the amount specified, or is changed or altered, and that each item is expended in the proper manner. It shall likewise inspect and analyse the different accounts of all the departments of State, collect the documentary proofs of the expenditure

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

indicated in such accounts, and submit to the National Consultative Assembly a complete statement of the accounts of the Kingdom, accompanied by its own observations.

ART. 103. The institution and organization of this commission shall be in accordance with the Law.

The Army.

ART. 104. The Law determines the manner of recruiting the troops, and the duties and rights of the military, as well as their promotion, are regulated by the Law.

ART. 105. The military expenditure shall be approved every year by the National Consultative Assembly.

ART. 106. No foreign troops may be employed in the service of the State, nor may they remain in or pass through any part of the Kingdom save in accordance with the Law.

ART. 107. The military cannot be deprived of their rights, ranks or functions save in accordance with the Law.

(*Copy of the august Imperial Rescript.*)

"*In the Name of God, blessed and exalted is He.*

"The complementary provisions of the Fundamental Code of Laws have been perused and are correct. Please God, our Royal Person will observe and regard all of them. Our sons and successors also will, please God, confirm these sacred laws and principles.

29 *Sha'bán*, A.H. 1325, *in the Year of the Sheep* (قوی ییل)
(= Oct. 7, 1907),

In the Royal Palace of Ṭihrán."

Cambridge: Printed at the University Press.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

00027706

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(NSDL)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from

NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach

on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA